













THE  
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*'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of, profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.'*—MILTON.

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# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. XCIII.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—MAJOR F'S UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL.....	1
„ II.—OUR RUSSIAN NEIGHBOURS AND HOW TO DEAL WITH THEM?	
1. Studies in European Politics—Russia. By G. Duff, M. P., 1866.	
2. The Westminster Review, October, 1867. Article Russia.	
3. Geographical Researches in Turkistan. By Roman- wsky, read at the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, January, 1866.	
4. The Edinburgh Review. January, 1867.	
5. Etudes sur les Forces Productives de Russie, par N. L. Tegoborski, Membre de Conseil de l'Empire de Russie. Paris, 1852-54. ....	33
„ III.—HISTORICAL CREDIBILITY OF THE MAHÁ BHARATA.	
1. The History of India from the Earliest Ages. By J. Talboys Wheeler. Vol. I. ....	85
„ IV.—SISTERHOODS.	
1. Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, Abroad and at Home. By Mrs. Jameson. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1855.	
2. Praying and Working, being some account of what men can do when in earnest. By the Rev. William Fleming Stevenson, Dublin. London: Alexander, •Strahan & Co. 1862.	
3. The Employment of Women in Religious and Charita- ble Works: A Lecture delivered before the Bethune Society, the 5th April, 1866. By George Edward Lynch Cotton, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta. Published by desire of the Society. 1866.	

	PAGE.
4. The Church and the World : Essays on Questions of the Day. By various Writers, edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M. A., London : Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1866.	
5. Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto, 1867. ....	106
.ART. V.—GOVERNORS AND GOVERNED.	
1. Correspondence regarding the comparative merits of British and Native Administration in India. Printed by Order of the Government of India : Calcutta 1867.	116
„ VI.—KULIN POLYGAMY.	
1. Kulasara Sindhu. By Raghunandan Tarkabagish.	
2. Letter from S. C. Bayley, Esquire, Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Home Department, No. 966, dated 23rd February, 1867.	
3. Report of the Committee appointed by Government to consider the question of legislative interference for preventing the “excessive abuse” of Polygamy as practised by the Kulin Brahmans, dated the 7th February 1867. ....	136
„ VII.—THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE CIVIL FUL- LOUGH RULES. ....	148
SHORT NOTICES.	
1. The Dattika Siromani. ....	205
2. Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association. Vol. II. Part I, W. Newman and Company, Calcutta, 1868. ....	207
3. The Annals of Rural Bengal. Vol I. The Ethnical Frontier of Lower Bengal with the Ancient Principalities of Beerbhoom and Bistunpore. By W. W. Hunter, B.A., M.R.A.S., of the Bengal Civil Service. London : Smith, Elder, and Co., 1868. ....	211
4. The World's Martyrs : A Poem. By C. K. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1868. ....	214

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. XCIV.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—MISS CARPENTER'S SIX MONTHS IN INDIA ...	1
„ II.—PORT CANNING AND ITS MUNICIPALITY ...	26
„ III.—PENSION LIST OF THE STAFF CORPS.	
1. General Order, No. 332 of 1861.	
2. General Orders from 1861 to 1868.	
3. Remarks on the Increase of Field Officers.	
4. The <i>Friend of India</i> , July 1868 ... ..	51
„ IV.—INDIAN LAND TENURE CONSIDERED AS AN ECONOMIC QUESTION ... ..	68
„ V.—PARASNATH AS A CIVIL SANATORIUM.	
1. Selections from the Records of the Government of Ben gal, No. XXXVIII. Papers relating to a Sana- tarium upon Mount Parasnath, 1861 ... ..	107
„ VI.—THE ANNALS OF OUR CONNECTION WITH INDIA, ENDING WITH THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE.	
1. The Rise of our Indian Empire. By Lord Mahon. London : Printed by John Murry, Albermarle Street, 1859.	
2. Mill's History of India. James Madden, 8, Lead- enhall Street ... ..	138
„ VII.—THE LABOUR DIFFICULTY IN BENGAL ...	157
„ VIII.—SHORT NOTICES ... ..	194



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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NO. 93.

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## ART. I.—MAJOR F'S UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL.

SINCE the publication of the narrative drawn from Captain Musafir's Journal of his travels in Austria and the Tyrol, we have received more than one enquiry as to whether it would not be possible to give an outline of a somewhat similar tour in the regions of sunny Italy. Since the opening of the route by Brindisi, and with the prospect of a speedy completion of the railway between Foggia and Naples in the south, and over Mount Cenis in the north, the journey through Italy will, it has been represented to us, commend itself, more than any other, to Anglo-Indians. It is therefore eminently desirable that they should be in a position to know something beforehand of its peculiarities, the inns to frequent, the route to take, the expense of the journey, the time in which it may be performed, and all those minor details which can only be drawn from practical experience.

Fortunately we are able to supply what has been required of us. An Indian officer, a Major F., who has just returned from a tour in Italy, has culled from his journal and placed at our disposal, much information likely to be useful to the Anglo-Indian intending to visit Europe. More than the best of the guide books will such a journal be appreciated. Guide books are not written for Anglo-Indians. Full of information as they are, there are many subjects omitted in them which it is requisite that the traveller proceeding from India should know. Their information, too, is often two, or three, or more, years old, whereas that which we propose to lay before our readers is fresh. Major F. has been careful to note down all the points likely to be interesting to the sight-seer as well as the traveller. We gather from his account that



the journey is by no means so expensive as it has been represented ; that though a knowledge of the language, or, at least, of French, is very desirable, it is not essential ; that it is possible to see a great deal in a very short time, and that the journey is infinitely enjoyable. We present such extracts from his journal as will place before the reader a traveller's own opinion on all these points ; satisfied, as we are, that it would be impossible to follow a more practical guide, or one who understands better the true aims and uses of travelling.

Major F. had for years been longing to visit Italy ; and finding it necessary, in the spring of 1866, to leave India for a time on the score of health, he resolved to take the opportunity of seeing Rome, Naples, and Florence, on his way to England. But the sudden re-establishment of a strict quarantine at all the Italian ports, in consequence of a rumour (a false one as it proved) of the existence of cholera in Egypt, prevented his going direct from Alexandria to Naples, as had been intended. He continued his voyage therefore to Marseilles : and contenting himself, for the time, with a drive along the lovely coast of the Mediterranean by the far-famed Corniche Road, and with a hurried peep at Cannes, Nice, Mentone, San Remo, and Genoa, he turned back from the last-named busy and interesting town, by Turin and the Mount Cenis, to Paris and London.

In January, 1867, F. started again on his pilgrimage to the "Eternal City," encouraged by the prospect of meeting within its walls friends who had long resided there, and were thoroughly familiar with the ways and language of the country.

It offered a rare opportunity of seeing everything to the greatest advantage ; and thanks to the kindness of those friends, his highest expectations were more than realized. He looks back upon the three months spent in Italy as among the happiest of his life : and during that period regained so much vigor, both in body and mind, that he wishes people in this country appreciated more generally the varied sources of health, and of pleasure of the highest kind, which lie within easy reach as they journey homewards from the East. All that is required is, the courage to trust themselves for a few short weeks out of the beaten track of the Overland route,—wearisome under even the most favourable circumstances. Those who have any idea of crossing the continent of Europe, should take their passage only as far as Alexandria, leaving it to be decided in the course of the voyage, which of the three routes thence open to them they will adopt ; that by Messina and Naples, by

Brindisi, or by Trieste. At Suez they can easily arrange with the agent of the steamer that brought them from India,—whether a P. & O. boat, or one belonging to the French company,—to have all their heavy luggage sent on direct to England.

Three days sail takes a traveller from Alexandria to Brindisi, and less than double that time to Messina and Naples, or to Trieste; whence, railways carry him in comfort from one end of Italy to the other,—at small cost *if he has little luggage*. Excellent hotels with moderate charges are everywhere open to receive him, and admirable hand-books, published by Murray and others, are always available as guides by the way. Nay, he may, if he pleases to adhere to the main lines, travel from Brindisi or Trieste, through Italy and Switzerland, or Germany, to Paris and London, without speaking one word of any language but his native English; though the pleasure will of course be immensely enhanced by a moderate knowledge of French, Italian, and German, or of any one of these, especially French. Lastly, no passport is required, except for Austria and the Papal States; but one may as well be obtained before leaving Calcutta, from the Foreign Department, at the cost of one rupee. And no serious inconvenience is experienced about luggage, beyond its being necessary always, when travelling on the continent, to be at the railway station at least half an hour before the time the train starts, in order to have everything weighed, paid for, and duly ticketed.

Every unfettered man, and every married couple who can make up their minds to disincumber themselves of their children for three weeks or a month, and to travel light,—will be richly repaid for the time and money they can afford to devote to even the most cursory sight of Italy. Three or four days in Naples, if actively used, with the help of a carriage and knapsack guide, will enable the traveller to carry away a very good idea of the place, and its beautiful and deeply interesting neighbourhood.

At Rome, though a period of six months is by no means long to give up to its endless wonderful sights, yet a week or ten days may be so judiciously and energetically employed, as to convey to the stranger's mind an excellent general impression of the whole, and implant an earnest desire to return: just as a few days at Florence, two or three at Venice, one each at Bologna and Milan, and half a day at Pisa and Siena, will suffice,—though more could be desired,—to show whatever is most worthy of notice. The great point will be, to have read up and decided before hand what each chiefly desires to see, instead of

spending time on objects which are in themselves, or in the estimation of the visitor, of less pressing interest. So much depends upon the views and tastes of individuals, that it is impossible to suggest any scheme of sight-seeing, or any scale of expenses, likely to suit all. For such details they must refer to the guide books; with the general intimation that, excepting at Florence, where the hotel rates are often exorbitant, the traveller's whole expenses should not, unless in Holy Week, exceed 11 or 12 francs a day (nine or ten shillings), attendance and washing included; provided that he is content, as he ought to be, with a bed-room only, and the general use of the *salon de lecture* of the hotel. He must also dine at the table d'hôte, as is the usual and far the most amusing arrangement; and must confine himself to vin ordinaire, or a bottle of Marsala. The above is exclusive, of course, of railway or diligence fares, and of cab hire. In Rome and other places five francs a day may be added for sight-seeing and carriages. A separate sitting room for two or more persons will involve an extra charge to the party of eight to twelve francs per day; and for the benefit of any who may think of passing some time at Rome it may be stated, that the cost of a private carriage for the season will be found to be, altogether, about £24 per month.

In Italy generally, but especially in Rome, and during the winter and spring months, it is most desirable to secure rooms, if not commanding a southern aspect, at least accessible to the sun for part of the day. The Italian saying is a true one, that where the sun enters not, the physician is sure to be a frequent visitor. Moreover, the *second* story is the healthiest, most sought after, and the most expensive,—not the ground floor, or the first story; the third story also being preferable to the first, if one has strength and the disposition to undertake the long ascent. For gentlemen always, and for married people only passing through, an hotel is the best and most convenient place to resort to. But for families or ladies intending to reside a little time, there are numerous well known pensions, where, by previous arrangement, they can be comfortably and more cheaply accommodated. Or a suite of rooms may be taken in some good and convenient locality, and the party of travellers may make an agreement with a restaurant to have all their wants supplied at an exceedingly moderate rate.

The hotels have of late years been frequented more than formerly, while the number of suites of apartments taken for the whole season have been much fewer. In other words, more people visit Rome, but fewer take up their residence there, than

in former times. In all years Easter-tide is of course the period when by far the greatest crowds resort thither, and when apartments of all sorts cost most money.

But to return to F's diary. The severe and prolonged snow-storm which ushered in the year 1867 in England and in France, forbade his going to the Continent until after the 22nd January, when a rapid thaw came on, and the snow disappeared as if by magic. Leaving the Charing Cross station on the 23rd at 9-55 A. M. for Folkestone and Boulogne, he after a cold, raw, rough crossing of three hours, reached Paris safely at 9 P. M. The party in the train consisted of people travelling on business rather than for pleasure, and included some of the staff of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, who was to follow in person next day on his way to assume the Governorship of Bombay.

F. continued his journey to Marseilles, on the night of the 29th, by the 7-45 through train; and after passing nineteen hours as comfortably as one of eight people packed together in a compartment could be expected to do, reached Marseilles at 1 P. M. of the 30th, without having encountered any adventure more serious than an hour's detention, caused by the breaking down of a luggage train bound for Paris. Having established himself at the Grand Hôtel du Louvre et de la Paix, and secured a berth in the Messageries steamer "Thabor," which was to sail for Leghorn next morning, he passed the rest of the afternoon in walking and driving about the town, and admiring the magnificent new streets then just opened or approaching completion.

One of the Italian company's steamers also was to start for Italy on the 31st, but F. deliberately selected the French boat in preference; and he strongly advises travellers always to do the same where they have the choice. The Messageries company's steamers are clean and well found. So are some of the Italian boats; but the very unpleasant experience of several parties of friends satisfied F. that this is very far from being the rule, many of them being dirty, ill provided, and badly commanded.

The "Thabor" started at 10 A. M. of the 31st, its list of passengers including upwards of fifty names, besides 300 recruits for the Pope's Antibes Legion. Of the former more than one-third were English, several were Americans, and the rest French and Italians. The early part of the day was fine, and afforded a lovely view of the coast, the steamer running close in shore. But as evening approached, the gentle swell perceptible in the morning grew into a heavy rolling motion, which gradually drove the ladies, and finally most of the gentlemen, from

the deck. At night the head-wind freshened into quite a gale, and the sea continued to rise until near 4 A. M., when it again subsided. All on board, and especially the poor soldiers on deck, passed a wretched night; as besides the inconvenience caused by the pitching and tossing, heavy spray kept constantly breaking over the vessel; and they were glad to reach their port of destination at 11 A. M.,—three hours behind the proper time. Leghorn itself, though an active, bustling place, has little about it to interest the traveller, who will feel considerably irritated by the exactions levied upon him at every turn, on the score of its being a free town. But Pisa can be conveniently visited from it during the time the steamer remains in port; and it may be as well to take a hurried look at that town, in case a future opportunity of doing so should not present itself.

Most of the passengers in the "Thabor" continued their voyage in her to Civita Vecchia; and this, as a general rule, is probably the most convenient arrangement. F., however, having paid a visit to friends living just outside the gates of Leghorn, preferred prosecuting his journey by land. He started by rail at 3 P. M. for Nunziatella; arrived at that miserable place about 10 at night, shivering with cold, to find nothing fit to eat or to drink; and was, after considerable delay, transferred to a diligence, in which the remaining distance to Civita Vecchia was not uncomfortably completed, in company with an intelligent young Russian, by 4½ A. M. of the 2nd February. After obtaining a cup of bad coffee, and having his passport and luggage examined, F. started by train for Rome at 7 A. M.

The morning was bright, frosty and exhilarating; and, as such, well suited to his frame of mind. The railway soon introduces the traveller to the Campagna, of which he has read and heard so much; and running, for the last few miles, just outside the walls of Rome, affords frequent glimpses, on one side of the dome of St. Peter's and the city generally, on the other of the beautiful Alban hills. One is thus kept in a state of constant excitement throughout the journey. The delay in getting luggage at the station, is worse at Rome perhaps than at any other place in the world. But F. at last secured his bag and portmanteau, and by 11 A. M. found himself deposited, at the door of the well known and well managed house the Hôtel d'Angleterre. There he learnt that the party whom he had left in the "Thabor" could not possibly arrive until ten hours later; the steamer invariably reaching Civita Vecchia just too late to catch the early train to Rome.

The day being the feast of Candlemas, the whole Roman world was abroad, in gay attire ; and besides that conveyances were in unusual demand, the ordinary fares were doubled, as they always are, by authority, on great holidays. It was a good opportunity for seeing the people ; and F. soon managed to discover his friends, and placed himself under their guidance for the day. He was accordingly taken successively to the grand old Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, to San Giovanni Laterano, with the adjoining Scala Santa, traditionally supposed to have belonged to the house of Pontius Pilate ; and then to San Clemente, one of the oldest churches in Rome. After visiting them he was driven round by the Coliseum, Arches of Constantine and Titus, the Forum Romanum (passing under the Capitol) to the Column and Forum of Trajan ; then to the Corso, and the Piazza del Popolo ; whence the party ascended the Pincian hill upon foot, and got lost in the dense crowd of well dressed people who thronged every portion of this favorite promenade. No wonder it is so universally appreciated ; for the views it commands over the city and neighbourhood are magnificent. F. finished the day by dining with his friends ; and when he returned at night to his crib in the hotel, his mind was so full of what he had seen, and hoped to see, that he could not readily compose himself to sleep.

Next day was Sunday, and a real day of rest. The English church, just outside the Porta del Popolo, is not, in fact, inconveniently situated ; and if its style of architecture is not strictly ecclesiastical, the building is at least airy and spacious, and contained on that and each of the following Sundays a devout congregation of not less than 500 English and Americans. There was regular service likewise, twice every Sunday, at the American Legation inside the city ; and it was largely resorted to by the English residents, by whom, as by his own countrymen, the American chaplain was much and deservedly esteemed.

The members of the Scotch presbyterian church used to meet in a house directly opposite the English church ; having just then been forbidden to continue to hold their services within the walls. The cause assigned by gossip for this arbitrary measure on the part of Cardinal Antonelli was, that the Duke of Argyll, who had lately been in Rome with Lord Clarendon, Earl Russell, Mr. Gladstone and other well known public men, and who was a member of the presbyterian congregation, had omitted or refused to pay the Pope the usual courtesy of calling on him. The omission was certainly remarked, as His Grace

probably desired it should be ; and, whether as a consequence or a mere coincidence, the prohibitory order above alluded to was just then issued.

At the time it was said in Rome, that of the four public characters above named, His Holiness the Pope expressed the following opinion. Lord Clarendon he liked and understood ; Mr. Gladstone he liked but did not understand ; Lord Russell he understood but did not like ; the Duke of Argyll he neither liked nor understood.

On the Monday the business of sight-seeing commenced in earnest, and was continued uninterruptedly during the period of F.'s stay ; but as each day's doings, in their general features, closely resembled those of the one preceding, it is enough to tell how a few were spent, to show the kind of life which F. and others led.

Immediately after breakfast he started off to the Poste Restante office to enquire for letters, looking into two or three churches by the way. He then paid a visit to his banker, and took his first lesson in Roman finance,—a very difficult though necessary subject of study, as others have found, and as future travellers will learn by experience. Particulars can be ascertained only from the guide books, and on the spot. Suffice it to say, that it is not merely a question of the value of an English sovereign or a French napoleon from day to day ; but that in Rome are found in circulation at once, *1st*—the old Papal currency of scudi, paoli, baiocchi, &c., *2nd*—a new decimal coinage, supposed to correspond with that of Italy, France, Belgium, and Switzerland, and *3rd*—notes of the Roman bank, which are at a heavy discount, and for which the very bank that issues them will not give in silver anything like the value they are supposed to represent. They are not a legal tender, and hotel keepers will not take them at par, insisting on their bills being paid either in gold or silver, and sticking up notices to that effect in every room in their houses. Shopkeepers and cab-drivers, however, are obliged to accept them at nearly their professed value.

Having transacted his business, F. met three friends, by appointment, in the Piazza di Spagna, which may be considered the centre of the district inhabited by English, Americans and other foreigners. In it are several of the hotels, besides some of the best shops ; especially those of the book, print, and photograph sellers, jewellers, and others ; and in it is the handsome palace occupied by the Spanish embassy, from which the Piazza derives its name. They started at noon for St. Peter's ; and F., the only one of the party to whom Rome was new, had no difficulty in recognising

the bridge and castle of St. Angelo, which the excellent old prints and later photographs have made so familiar to all the world. The Piazza San Pietro, with its beautiful fountains and colonnades, was even on a grander scale than anticipated ; so was the flight of steps leading up to the vestibule. But the impression received on entering the church itself was certainly one of disappointment. Its immense size and wonderful proportions did not strike F. at first. It was only after seeing it many times, looking at it in detail, and observing the crowds of human beings for whom there was ample place in a mere corner of the vast building, that the grandeur of the entire edifice came home fully to his mind.

From St. Peter's they crossed to the Vatican, and entered the museum, devoting themselves to the sculpture galleries until the closing of the doors obliged them to retire. Here F. saw for the first time the Apollô Belvidere, the Antinous, the Laocoon, the bust of the young Augustus, Father Nile with the sixteen children playing around him, the statue of Demosthenes, and the hundreds of other works of interest which line the corridors, and with all of which he grew better acquainted in the sequel.

His party then took a carriage, and leaving Rome by the Porta Cavallegieri, ascended to the high ground which was the scene of the successful attack of the French in 1848, in spite of the gallant defence made by the Republicans. The extensive repairs since made on the city wall continue to mark the spot. On the terrace of the Convent of San Pietro in Montorio, a little further on, they stopped to gaze on the lovely view it affords of the city, looking towards the Alban and Sabine Hills, the more distant peaks of the latter of which were covered with snow. Then descending to the bank of the Tiber, and crossing by the Ponte Sisto, they made their way through the narrow streets to the Corso, and so to the Piazza di Spagna, whence they had started, and where they separated to find their way to their various places of abode. F. returned to the Hotel d'Angleterre, and thenceforth formed one of the hundred or more inmates who dined daily at the table d'hôte. The long low room where dinner is laid, was originally the stable of the palace since turned into an hotel. It is gloomy enough in the morning, but very cheerful in the evening, when well lighted, and crowded by the large party usually assembled in it. The dinners were almost invariably good, and the wine on the whole the best vin ordinaire that F. tasted at any table d'hôte in Italy, or perhaps anywhere else. Of the house party more than half always were Americans, about thirty per cent were "Britishers," and the rest French, Germans,



Russians, &c. At breakfast, or at dinner, F. met during his stay, many agreeable people of all nations, with whom he was glad to renew acquaintance in the course of his travels to Naples, Florence, &c. After dinner, as soon as the smokers had regaled themselves with a pipe or cigar for half an hour, all the gentlemen used to scatter themselves for the night, to go to the opera or theatre, or to spend the evening with friends in the town. The ladies who were not going out, met in each others, rooms in small parties, and passed the evening pleasantly together: but many invariably went to some of the public places of amusement, where the performances were always creditable, and often exceedingly good. There were, besides, constant balls and dancing parties for those who liked them. And as, through their respective bankers, English people have little difficulty in gaining admission to these, such as were fond of gaiety used to have engagements for several evenings in every week. Indeed many persons came to Rome apparently for the sake of amusement only, and saw equally little of antiquities, churches, pictures, and sculptures. There is always in Rome a very pleasant and cultivated society of resident foreigners, not difficult of access to those who have good introductions. Among these it is common for ladies to have special evenings for receiving their friends, which afford opportunities of meeting to those who really desire to become better acquainted. Then a subscription pack of hounds is kept up, and it is made a point of honor with most of the visitors to attend the meets, which take place some miles out of the city, in the Campagna, twice in each week during the spring months. Those who do not care for riding, or are unable to mount themselves suitably, go in carriages; and a gay and sprightly scene the gathering is altogether. Much cannot be said in favor of the hacks that are available as hunters; but ladies and light weights, who are careful riders, may manage fully to enjoy the sport throughout the day. A heavy weight should not venture to join in the chase, unless he has imported a horse for the season, or purchased or got the loan of one for the occasion.

Two days later, F. and his friends the Ns went to the palazzo Rospigliosi on the Quirinal; and there, on the roof of one of the halls, saw Guido's far famed and beautiful fresco of "Aurora,"—no copies or prints of which convey any just idea of the exquisite grace and spirit of the figures in the original. The afternoon was devoted to studying in detail the temples of Saturn and Jupiter, the arch of Septimius Severus, the column of Phocas, the Forum, the Via Sacra, and beyond it the Coliseum and other ancient

remains, of which they had only a glance on their first day's drive. They closely examined the Coliseum itself, ascending as high as the flights of steps permitted ; and it more than came up in every way to F's preconceived ideas of it. After seeing it repeatedly, in sunshine and in gloom, by day and by moonlight, he was more and more struck with its size and proportions, and its suitableness for the purposes it was intended, or was made to serve. It is impossible, too, when on the spot, for any man of thoughtful mind not to recal the time when it was entire and thronged with spectators, or not to realize to himself more or less vividly, the heroic deeds and fearful sufferings, which we know to have been witnessed inside its walls.

Between the Forum and Coliseum they went into the very ancient Church of S. Cosmo e Damiano, built on the site and out of the temple of Remus, and containing a very ancient mosaic which represents the mystic lamb. They afterwards visited the Church of S. Gregorio, on the Coelian hill, dating back to the 7th century, and containing in its side chapels the rival frescoes painted by Guido and Domenichino. F. and his party then crossed to S. Stefano Rotondo, founded A. D. 467, on the western side of the same hill, with two sets of pillars, thirty six in the outer, and twenty in the inner circle. On the walls are a series of frescoes representing, in the most revolting form, the sufferings and death of some of the early martyrs : and behind the altar of one of its chapels are some very old mosaics. Thence they returned home, passing, en route, the well known temple of Vesta.

On the 7th F. proceeded to visit the Pantheon, of which he had hitherto had only passing glances. The more it was examined, the more it surpassed the idea formed of its size and beauty, and the more worthy the portico seemed of all the admiration which has for centuries been bestowed upon it. Of it as of all the other buildings Murray's guide-book gives the fullest particulars ; but the stranger must see Rome with his own eyes and mind, to appreciate the noble scale on which the ancient masters of the world conceived and executed their great works. At noon he met the Ns at the Capitol, and spent the time until the museum gates opened, in examining the statues of Castor and Pollux, of Constantine and his son, and the bronze equestrian one of Marcus Aurelius ; all of which adorn the handsome Piazza del Campidoglio. Admitted at last into the museum, the party soon found themselves in the presence of the Dying Gladiator, the wondrous power and merit of which grow

on the spectator the longer he gazes. In the same room with it are the Amazon, the Antinous, and the Faun of Praxiteles, all singularly beautiful, but hard to describe even after many visits.

When the museum closed, they went into the adjacent church of S. Maria di Araceli, which occupies the site of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It contains two beautiful ambones covered with mosaics, as well as many most interesting monuments and relics ; and in it F. saw the renowned figure of the infant Saviour,—the “ Santissimo Bambino,”—supposed to possess miraculous powers of curing the sick. The legend tells us that it was carved by a Franciscan pilgrim out of a tree which grew on the Mount of Olives, and was painted by St. Luke while the pilgrim was sleeping over his work. The plain wooden figure is covered with gems and jewellery, the offerings of the pious. It is held in immense sanctity in cases of sickness ; being carried in procession to the bedside of persons whose cases have been given up as hopeless by the physician, and who can afford to pay for the privilege of receiving it, and for the prayers of the accompanying priests. The day's sight-seeing terminated with a visit to the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, founded in 331 by Constantine. It derives its name from the portion of the true cross deposited in it by the Empress Helena, and shewn each year on one day in Easter week. The Church is chiefly remarkable for the numerous relics found in it, including amongst others, the ashes of Thomas-à-Becket.

As the party drove home by a new route, they passed the temple of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline, near the Porta Maggiore.

On the 8th, starting as usual from the Piazza di Spagna, F. and his friends passed the Fontana de Trevi (the waters of which drunk from the fountain in a moonlight night ensure the return to Rome of the person so indulging in them), and drove to the arch of Janus Quadrifrons, a great square mass, handsome but rather heavy, with a large arch on each of the four sides. Very near it, down an alley, they found admittance to the Cloaca Maxima, by which the great common sewer of Rome entered the Tiber very near this spot. Close to it again was pointed out, in the street leading to the Ponte Rotto, the house of Cola di Rienzi, the last of the Roman tribunes. Next they paid a visit to the temples of Vesta and Fortuna ; and then to that of Ceres and Proserpine, turned into the church called Bocca dell' Verita ; after which, leaving the city by the Porta San Paolo, they came to the quiet and secluded Protestant cemetery, where lie the remains of Shelley, Keats, Wyatt, and John Bell, besides many

others less known to fame. They devoted an hour to this spot so interesting to Englishmen, and then drove on to the magnificent Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura,—under the high altar of which, according to the earliest traditions of the Church, was the burial place of Saint Paul. Of this church the kings of England were protectors previous to the reformation, and many a donation they gave to it. But it was almost entirely burnt down in 1823, the roof having taken fire during some repairs. Since then the whole place has been fully restored, and endless sums of money lavished upon it. The grand old mosaics behind the Tribune escaped the fire, and are still beautiful : and with its marble floor, its four ranges of granite Corinthian columns, numbering eighty in all,—besides two large Ionic pillars supporting the arch of Galla Placidia,—it is a glorious interior.

On leaving the Basilica they continued their way for one and a half mile into the Campagna, to the church of S. Paolo alle tre Fontane, built on the spot where St. Paul is said to have been beheaded. The three fountains sprung up, we are told, where the head of the apostle bounded as many times from the earth ; and the church contains a marble pillar on which he is said to have been decapitated. Close to it are two other very ancient churches, one of them built over the cemetery of twelve hundred Christians, who had been employed in the baths of Diocletian. Re-entering the city, the party drove home through the narrow dirty Jews' quarter called the Ghetto.

The morning of the following day was given up by F to the Sciarra gallery of painting, containing the well-known lovely pictures by Fra Bartolomeo, Raphael, Leonardo Da Vinci, Titian, and others. In the afternoon he went with his friends to the Borghese Casino ; and having seen all its beautiful rooms and the interesting works of art collected within, walked and drove in the grounds which are generously thrown open to the public every day after 12 o'clock. Here he joined numerous groups of visitors in wandering about the meadows, and gathering the violets, anemones, and other spring flowers, so refreshing to an Indian eye, that were growing in myriads all over the place, at a time when letters from Paris and London described the people in these cities as frozen up, and miserable from the intense cold.

A great 'funzione' or service in St. Peter's, for the "beatification" of a Capuchin monk, being announced for the 10th, F. decided on going to witness it ; for it promised to be his only opportunity of seeing even a part of the Basilica illuminated, as he was not to be in Rome in Holy Week. He was not in time to secure a ticket of admission within the barriers of the Tribune. Had he

presented himself *en militaire*, he would probably have been allowed to pass ; but he had, after full consideration, left his uniform behind in England, to avoid the trouble and expense of carrying about an additional box. Going early to St. Peter's, however, he found standing room immediately outside the enclosed space, and from there commanded a full view of the ceremony. The whole of the Tribune (or chancel) was illuminated to the roof with thousands of wax candles, the effect of which, and of the draperies, &c., put up for the occasion, was exceedingly striking. After a time there wound up the aisle what seemed an interminable procession of clergy of different grades, Sub-Deacons, Deacons, Canons, Bishops, and Cardinals ; with, last of all, the Cardinal Bishop of St. Peter's ; and when he had taken his place by the high altar, the service commenced. First came the reading of the Bull of beatification of B. Beneditto da Urbino, of the order of Capuchins,—b. 1560, d. 1625,—which occupied some time. As soon as that was concluded, a picture of the monk, placed over the high altar, was suddenly unveiled, amidst a crash of music, and a discharge of guns from the castle of St. Angelo. Then followed a grand musical service, exquisitely performed by the Cathedral choir and the Pope's private choir combined ; during which a little book, containing a life and likeness of the beatified Capuchin, was distributed to those present. For vespers the tribune continued illuminated as in the morning ; and there was again a long procession of ecclesiastics, in which came His Holiness the Pope, a fine benevolent-looking old man, who scattered blessings as he advanced towards the altar to take part in the service. On both occasions the crowd was immense ; but it was all contained in that one end of the Cathedral, and seemed absolutely nothing with reference to the size of the whole building. F. could not help being struck with the number of English and Americans present at these services. Throughout that day one heard more English than Italian spoken in St. Peter's.

Rome is full of sculptors and artists, an occasional visit to whose studios is not unwelcome to them, and richly repays the traveller. Those of most note have particular afternoons on which they receive all comers. But F. had the advantage of being personally introduced to several by mutual friends, and so became acquainted with the works of the well-known and popular American sculptor Mr. Story, and of Miss Hosmer, under the most agreeable circumstances. He visited also the studio of Gibson, then lately deceased, and various others. There are some grand things in all : and it is specially interesting to see

the statues in process of being cut out in marble by the workmen, from the plaster models of the artist. Still more interesting, however, is it to be admitted to the artist's inner room, and see himself engaged in moulding his latest conceptions into form from the soft clay.

Another day F. was introduced by the same friends to the studio of an accomplished Italian painter, who occupies his time in copying, (for sale,) the finest pictures found in the galleries of Florence and Rome. He afterwards made the acquaintance of Signor Saulini, the possessor of the largest and best collection of cameos in Rome. He is a skilful artist, and besides having for sale the most finished cameos with classical subjects, himself does likenesses on shell and in *pietra dura*, with great beauty and success—first, sketching the head on paper. Such likenesses cost a great deal, and his customers in that department were chiefly American ladies, who for that and other luxuries seemed always to have plenty of money at command. Every lover of art should also make a point of visiting Castellani's unique collection of ancient gems and trinkets, and his admirable imitations of them. The traveller longs to become the possessor of some of these, but he must bring a well stocked purse to Rome, if he means to invest in such, or in the higher class of cameos.

F. was indeed delighted with the Roman jewellery of all sorts, and notices the great variety and beauty of it. The Byzantine mosaic work is exceedingly pretty, and the gold settings, done after the ancient models found all over Italy, are very handsome and showy; quite different from those usually met with elsewhere. They are also cheaper, and the gold they are made of is purer than that used for such purposes in England or in France.

Besides repeated visits to St. Peter's generally, and for the examination of the monuments it contains, F. descended one morning into the subterranean church or crypt, where he saw, among many old and interesting tombs, the urns of the three last Princes of the House of Stuart, who died at Rome. Another day he ascended the dome, from the outside of which there were magnificent views of the surrounding country, while from the inner gallery the people moving about in the church below looked no bigger than small children. F. and one of his friends would go into the ball, which is of metal, and readily gets heated by the sun. His friend, being tall, nearly stuck fast in attempting to get out again. The iron steps leading to it are very narrow and steep, and the opening exceedingly small: and once inside, there is nothing to see, the ball being of small diameter and

without windows. The ascent to the dome is very easy and gradual throughout, and no one should fail to make it, selecting a clear morning for the purpose. The ball had better be let alone.

On the 16th F. started with the Ns at 1 P. M., and issuing from the city by the Porta S. Sebastiano (along the Via Appia) passed the arch of Drusus and the tombs of the Scipios. Just outside the gate stood in former times the temple of Mars, where the armies, entering Rome in triumph, used to halt : and a few hundred yards beyond is the church of Domine quo Vadis ; so called from the tradition that St. Peter, flying from Rome, was here met by our Saviour, who to the above enquiry replied, Venio Romam iterum crucifigi—I am coming to Rome to be crucified afresh. On the floor of the church is a marble slab with what is said to be a fac-simile of the foot-mark of our Saviour left on the black lava block of pavement on which he stood. A mile or two further on, to the left, is the circus of Maxentius. It forms an oblong space 1,580 feet in length, and 260 in breadth. It is the most perfect one remaining, and therefore well deserves the attention of the visitor. Just beyond, and to the right of the circus, is the famous tomb of Cæcilia Metella, the wife of Crassus : a circular tower nearly seventy feet in diameter, resting on a quadrangular basement composed of small stones and broken bricks united by some strong kind of cement. Though stripped of its outer coating, and unroofed, it is still a large and interesting pile of building ; and standing high, is seen from a long distance in every direction.

From it the party turned back to near where stood the second mile-stone on the Appian way ; and there entered the enclosure leading to the Catacombs of S. Callisto, one of the largest and most interesting in the suburbs of Rome. Before descending the flight of steps leading into them, each member of the party,—the number of which is not allowed to exceed eight or nine,—is furnished with a lighted taper, and ordered to keep close to the person immediately in front ; the guide leading the way. In case of any one losing sight of the rest of the party, he could never find his way out by himself. The instructions, therefore, are, for the person so lost to remain stationary until the guide can return to fetch him. F. and his friends continued to wander for upwards of an hour through the endless galleries, about eight feet high, and three to five wide, lined on each side with four or five tiers of graves. The latter vary much in size, and are hollowed out in the tufa or loose conglomerate, of which much of the surface of the Campagna consists. Besides these galleries, sometimes running at right angles to each other, some-

times diverging from a centre, one comes, at intervals, on separate sepulchral chambers, which had been converted into family vaults, and even used as places of worship by the early Christians. In the graves frequently noticed bones, or fragments of bones, mixed with the ashes of the dead : but, generally speaking, the mouldering dust alone remained. Almost all the old inscriptions and sarcophagi found in these tombs, that were worth taking, have been removed from time to time, to grace the collections of the Pope, or the palaces of the various Roman nobles : but here and there are still to be seen remains of great interest, and a visit to the Catacombs will be found fully to reward the traveller. The air in them is very heavy, and after a time gets quite oppressive. One feels really down among the dead, and is very glad to get up into the open air again.

Another afternoon was given up to an examination of some tombs freshly discovered and excavated on the Via Latina. One tomb, with a sarcophagus in the centre, contained two bodies, and the sides and ceilings were covered with frescoes, the coloring of which was perfectly fresh and bright. In other tombs the frescoes were on white stucco, but quite entire. Several Columbaria have been discovered near this same spot. They contain rows of niches like those in a dovecot, and each such recess held an urn in which, after burning the body, the ashes of the dead were deposited. Numerous Columbaria are to be seen along all the great roads leading out of Rome ; and one of the largest, and most perfect, containing several hundred urns, is in the beautiful grounds of the Doria Pamphili Villa, to which the public have access twice a week. It is reached by the Porta S. Pancrazio, and lies on the line of the old Via Aurelia. There, as in the Borghese gardens, crowds of well dressed people may be seen on the public days, riding or driving, or wandering about the lawns, gathering the luxuriant spring flowers so various and plentiful to which allusion was made above : and from the roof of the Casino, situated in the middle of a stiff but pretty garden, there is a beautiful view of all the surrounding country, as well as of St. Peter's, and of the city.

After seeing the Catacombs, a visit to the Christian museum in the Palace of the Lateran should not be omitted. It contains a vast collection of remarkable sarcophagi, covered with sculptures representing such subjects as "The Good Shepherd," "Jonah," "St. Peter and the cock crowing," "The raising of Lazarus," &c. Many of these were found in the Catacombs, and removed from there directly to the place they now occupy.



There is on the walls of the upper corridor of the palace a collection of early Christian inscriptions and frescoes, which are also of deep interest. In another part of the same palace are Pagan remains most deserving of attention; and in the rooms above some excellent paintings. But it was with the early Christian relics that F was most struck.

There is no room here to enlarge upon the Palace of the Cæsars, to which two whole afternoons were devoted. The portion bought from the Pope by the Emperor Napoleon has lately been excavated with the greatest intelligence and success, and inscriptions upon pillars erected here and there, show the visitor what the different buildings are supposed to have been. The part retained by the Papal Government has, from want of funds, hitherto been less systematically examined.

Nor can we go with F to the Baths of Caracalla, of Diocletian, and of Titus, any more than we can find room for his impressions of the glorious Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, S. Giovanni Laterano, S. Lorenzo, S. Agnese, and the churches of S. Maria del Popolo, S. Maria della pace, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Sabina, &c. Nor, because space is wanting for his remarks upon them, must he be supposed to have been insensible to the beauty and merit of the pictures in the galleries of the Borghese, Doria, Barberini, Colonna, Corsini, and Spada Palaces, which were all visited over and over again with renewed delight.

People must go there and study for themselves the landscapes of Claude, of Poussin and of others, and the works of Raphael, Guido, and Titian, Carlo Dolce, Salvator Rosa, Guercino, and Domenichino.

The period of Major F's residence in Rome was drawing fast to a close, when the last ten days of the Carnival began. A very poor sight it proved in fact; for the Romans were in no mood for merry-making just then. Indeed it was generally understood that when the season for foreigners to visit Rome was past, a rising against the government would certainly take place. It did actually occur in the autumn;—with what lamentable consequences all the world knows. But in the Carnival time men were daily being arrested and thrown into prison, upon mere suspicion of disaffection to the existing state of things. On the great days of the festival, soldiers with loaded muskets were stationed at the corner of every street, and detachments of artillery commanded the principal thoroughfares. No wonder that, under such circumstances, the Romans preferred staying at home to making holiday; and that the few people who were

to be seen in the Corso, and occupying the balconies, were *forestieri* (strangers); in fact almost entirely English and Americans. On the first of the great days, F sallied out into the Corso accompanied by a friend, and there were so few people abroad, that for several hundred yards he ran the gauntlet of the comfits, manufactured with flour and plaster of Paris, with showers of which all passers-by are greeted, and with which it is by no means pleasant to get hit on the face, as they sting rather sharply for the moment. The day's proceedings opened with a procession of the Roman senators,—a very poor affair; and terminated, as they always do, with a race run from the Piazza dell Popolo along the entire length of the Corso, by horses without riders, goaded along by sharp spikes fastened to their harness, which wound them more cruelly the faster they go.

On the last Thursday, after paying a long visit to the Villa Ludovisi, where they examined the sculptures, and on the roof of the Casino saw Guercino's *Aurora* (which, however, looked poor after Guido's rendering of the same subject), F and a party of friends took places in the balcony of the Caffé Nuovo in the Corso, to witness the scene. Though there was no crowd, there were far more people collected than on the previous occasion: the procession of senators was somewhat grander; and the number of masked figures in grotesque dresses, on foot and in conveyances of sorts, sufficiently large to afford considerable amusement. Basketful after basketful of comfits was soon expended by F's party in pelting the maskers; those in carriages usually repaying with interest any damage which they sustained. In fact the maskers had the best of it,—their faces being protected, while those in the balconies were not so; and they were furnished with an unlimited supply of comfits, which they literally shovelled against their assailants. In several of the coaches, besides comfits, there were baskets full of lovely bouquets, of which many were thrown at the fair occupants of some of the balconies:—the ladies being well aware to whom they were indebted for the compliment, and not failing to return it.

The whole affair did not last above an hour: when the bugles sounded, the streets were cleared, and the poor tortured horses having rushed past towards the goal, all was over for the day. Then the maskers, who were all foreigners as on the previous day, quickly disappeared to their respective hotels, to get ready for dinner, and discuss the events of the afternoon.

Had we room, we might extract notices of many pleasant afternoon drives taken in those lovely spring days to places

outside the city walls, and away into the campagna. F and his friends used to go out to Monte Mario on a clear day to feast their eyes upon the views it commanded, or to other spots in the same neighbourhood. Or, obtaining tickets beforehand, they would visit some interesting villa, such as the villa Ludovisi, or villa Albani, to see old sculptures, fine gardens, and splendid views of the hills; afterwards driving on into the country, and returning to Rome by the Porta Pia or one of the other gates, to meet the Pope himself or some of the Cardinals taking their afternoon airing on foot, accompanied by their chaplains, and with the unmistakeable carriage in attendance.

On the 2nd of March, F started for Naples; returning to Rome on the night of the 14th, to spend the last half of the month in revisiting the sights of greatest interest to him in and about the city. During these last 14 days were made some of the most enjoyable of the afternoon excursions above alluded to, as well as others to Frascati and Tusculum, to Tivoli, and to Albano, of which the last only can be noticed here.

The Railway to Frascati makes the first of these trips a very simple matter. As regards the other places, there were constant rumours of persons being seized by the brigands in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and shot or forced to pay a heavy ransom: and it was no doubt quite unsafe to wander about the Sabine hills as used to be done in former years. Many people thought it unwise to venture even as far as Tivoli, 18 miles off. But F and the Ns having decided to run this slight risk, started in carriages one morning at 7½ A. M., a party of ten, and made a most successful and pleasant trip, getting back in time for dinner at eight o'clock. Another day, which turned out a perfectly lovely one, F and a young friend made out a visit to the lakes of Nemi and Albano; though obliged, after reaching the top of the hill, to content themselves with donkeys to carry them; every horse and conveyance having been taken up at the town of Albano, by people going to the great annual fair held that day at Grotta Ferrata. Nothing could have more been admirable than the manner in which the donkeys performed their duty. Only the one which bore F, being of a mystical and sociable disposition, insisted on addressing in its loudest tones every friend it met on the road. The other animal was more silent and reserved, until late in the day, when it too broke forth into what may have been a song of rejoicing at the prospect of getting rid of its burden. Having paid a visit to the lake of Nemi, which occupies the site of a crater of an old volcano, the travellers turned back and proceeded by a

shady road skirting the brow of the hill, to a spot where they looked down upon the lovely lake Albano. Thence they passed on by Castel Gondolfo (where there is a Papal palace, the favorite country residence of the sovereign) to Rocca di Papa, Marino, and Grotta Ferrata.

All the way from Castel Gondolfo they had been meeting groups of peasants returning from the fair, either on foot, or riding,—men and women alike,—in every conceivable style and attitude, on horses, mules, or donkeys. The dresses of the women were for the most part very picturesque and gay, and many of their faces exceedingly handsome. The fair itself was by no means empty when F. and his companion arrived, tired and dusty, at 3½ P. M. Having partaken in one of the booths of some of the wine and coarse bread and biscuits procurable, they wandered about the place for an hour, looking at the people and at the goods exposed for sale, which seemed to consist chiefly of women's trinkets. Then it being time to start for Frascati to catch the train, they joined the stream of foot-passengers, who were hurrying in the same direction along the exceedingly pretty road through the fine old wood of Grotta Ferrata; and soon found themselves back in Rome.

Besides enjoying the scenery, F. considered himself very fortunate in having seen the peasants in their holiday attire; for, unhappily, the old costumes are rapidly disappearing. In Rome now-a-days one seldom notices anything very characteristic in the dress of the people, almost the only exceptions being the lovely family, so well known to all who have been there, who go out as models, and always wear their national and most becoming dress.

On the 2nd March, F. quitted Rome by the 10-20 A. M. train for Naples. It is a beautiful drive throughout, in fine weather; but the particular morning was gloomy, and soon after leaving the station, a mist obscured the views of the hills on both sides of the carriage. Presently the rain turned into snow, with which, as the train got further south, the whole country was covered, to the depth of several inches. About half past one the train reaches Ceprano, the Papal frontier; and just beyond it, on the further bank of the river Liris, stands Isoletta, the first station within the Italian boundary. At both places passports and light luggage are examined, but not vexatiously. The delay occasioned is however intolerable, it being nearly 3 o'clock ere the convoy starts again for Naples. Beyond Isoletta the traveller passes a good many places of interest, such as the station of Rocca Secca, the birthplace of St. Thomas Aquinas; and

Aquino, within a mile of which Juvenal was born. Still further on comes San Germano, about two miles from which stands the monastery of Monte Casino, perched upon the top of a high hill, and commanding one of the grandest views to be seen anywhere. It was founded by St. Benedict himself, and is perhaps one of the most celebrated conventual institutions in the world. The monks have a splendid library and collection of old manuscripts, and entertain most hospitably all gentlemen travellers who seek admittance at their gates. F greatly regretted his being unable to stop there either in going to or returning from Naples. The station of Capua is reached soon after 5 P. M., and Naples itself at 6-30. On this occasion the train arrived in a down pour of sleet, through which the passengers had to walk, without any cover, for some seventy yards, to reach the waiting-room and claim their luggage.

F was very glad to find himself housed at last in the conveniently situated and comfortable *Hôtel de Russie*, on the quay of Santa Lucia. But the feeling next morning was one of considerable disappointment, when, looking from the house-top, he beheld Vesuvius and all the Apennines covered with snow—a most unusual state of things—and the bay of Naples itself, so unlike what was expected, looking cold, and gray, and stormy. It wore its natural aspect many times before F returned to Rome, but the sky continued more or less hazy, and the views across the bay were never so extensive as he had hoped to see.

The weather being thus unsettled, the first day or two were spent in visits to the museum and other places of attraction within the city. The museum is full of most interesting statues, frescoes, iron and earthen-ware vases and utensils of all sizes and kinds, besides gold, silver, and other ornaments,—all found at Pompeii, Cumæ, Baiæ, Puteoli, &c. F went up to the castle of St. Elmo too, and the adjacent church and Carthusian Monastery of San Martino, rich in beautiful paintings, marbles, and carved and inlaid wood. From the end of the garden is to be seen one of the most lovely panoramic views of the Bay of Naples, and Mount Vesuvius, and, on the other side, of the Apennines. The ascent of Mount Vesuvius, which most visitors will desire to accomplish if they have a day to spare, need not be described. It could not be made under favorable circumstances, in wet weather; but usually it is an expedition involving fatigue rather than difficulty.

The earliest opportunity was taken by F of going to Pompeii. For his first visit he soon found among the residents at the hotel a companion to share an open carriage, which conveyed them

through the suburbs and along the coast to the very entrance gate. On admission the visitor pays a fee of two francs ; when each party of two or more is furnished with a guide, who walks them all over the place much more hurriedly than is agreeable. However a good general idea is thus afforded of this marvellous city : and F advises his friends to imitate his example, and pay a second visit, by railway, upon the following Sunday ; when nothing is charged for admittance, and the stranger is left free of guides, to wander about and meditate at will. No previous amount of reading can prepare the mind for the deep feeling of interest attaching to the place, when quietly seen and examined. One rambles about for hours through the Forum, and Basilica or courts of law, the temples of Jupiter, Venus, &c., the theatres, streets, shops, and private houses. If he has previously seen in the museum at Naples all the articles found in Pompeii, with the several localities from which they were taken marked upon them, down to half-baked loaves, with the maker's stamp, scorched chestnuts and walnuts, and all sorts of other things ; the visitor can, without much effort, picture to himself what the actual state of things must have been, and what the size and splendour of the public buildings, when the city was finally destroyed. At Herculaneum there is nothing to see except the partially excavated theatre, the place having been destroyed by fluid lava, not with cinders (like Pompeii), and another town built on the top of it, *viz.*, the modern Resina.\*

F and a fellow-traveller took advantage of the next fine day to make an excursion along the coast in the opposite direction, *viz.*, to Baice. Starting in an open carriage at 9 A. M., and visiting *en route* the tomb of Virgil in the outskirts of the town, they passed through the Grotto di Posilipo, a tunnel of 748 yards long, which has existed since the time of Nero. Having so got into the open country, they presently came in sight of the Island of Lisida, and the Quarantine harbour and Lazzaretto, forming a very picturesque view altogether. A little later they reached Pozzuoli, the ancient Puteoli, and there walked to the still smoking crater of an old volcano. On the height above the town are very perfect remains of a large and fine amphitheatre, which should be carefully examined. There are the ruins also of several temples ; and near the shore, that of Jupiter Serapis, which once stood twelve feet above the level of the sea, but is now seven feet below it, and continues to sink a quarter of an

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\* At this very time it is threatened with destruction from the lava which has been pouring down the sides of Mount Vesuvius.

inch every year. All that coast has altered entirely since the days of Virgil and Cicero ; having risen here and sunk there, so as to make it difficult to trace the spots alluded to by Roman writers. At Pozzuoli are hot springs, still reckoned of considerable efficacy in cases of chronic rheumatism. They were being used at the time of F's visit, and with much benefit, by a gentleman long resident and much respected in Calcutta. Beyond, the travellers passed a volcanic hill, which was thrown up in one day, about 300 years ago. Close to it now grow the vines which produce the best Red Falernian wine, — a very excellent drink, as F willingly testifies, and one of which he strongly recommends a trial to all friends who may visit Naples. Not that he would seek to depreciate the undoubted merits of the red and white Capri, and the well known Lachryma Christi, in respect of all of which he was well served at the Hôtel de Russie. Soon after passing this hill they came to the Lake Lucrinus, where the famous oyster beds used to be, and where other fish are still kept, though inroads of the sea have quite altered the size and depth of the lake. Beyond it a road to the right leads, in a mile and a half, to the Lake Avernus and Sybil's Cave. The lake is a fine sheet of water, but has no considerable amount of wood about it : and even in Virgil's time, it must have been by a great stretch of poetic licence that he placed there the entrance to Hades. Cumæ lay in some sense between the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, upon the side of the hill ; but faint signs of the place now alone remain.

On rejoining the high road, which runs close along the coast, the hot springs called the Baths of Nero are arrived at. They are so hot, that eggs are boiled in them for the edification and use of the traveller. F went incautiously into the long, low, narrow, winding passage which leads to them, and was nearly suffocated by the vapors.

From here Baïæ was soon reached ; the remains of several magnificent villas being passed by the way, which had been built on and overhanging the sea, and have long since fallen into it. At Baïæ there are some ruins scattered about, to which the archæologists strive to give names ; but in reality the bay itself is so much changed, that there is no certainty about anything. Even now, however, the views are beautiful enough, and the climate in spring and autumn sufficiently charming to give one an idea of what the place must have been in the days of its glory, and its wickedness. The party returned to Naples in a fine but not very clear afternoon, by the road taken in the morning, except for the last few miles, when, instead of passing again through the

tunnel, they went over the hill, in order to enjoy from it the grand views which it commands of the town and bay. The above delightful excursion, occupying only from 9 A. M. till 5 P. M., and entailing very little fatigue, should be made by all who have a day to spare. They will have plenty of time to eat their luncheon,—which they should carry with them from Naples,—while their horses are being rested at Baia. And when Pompeii and Baia have been examined, trips should be made to Sorrento and Amalfi and Capri; as well as to Pæstum, if it is accessible in spite of the brigands.

Of his pleasant experiences of the two first of these F's diary speaks in glowing terms.

The train takes the traveller as far as Castella Mare: from which the zigzag drive of ten miles to Sorrento, along the face of the rocks, is most varied and charming, while the position of the town itself is beautiful. It is famous for its inlaid or wooden mosaic, which somewhat resembles Tunbridge-ware, but is far prettier and more elaborate. Gay ribbons are made there, too, in imitation of the well-known Roman ones, to which, however, if cheaper, they are very inferior in quality.

Amalfi is more distant. The traveller goes by railway as far as Vietri, where carriages are in waiting to carry him the remaining eighteen miles to his destination, along a road always having in sight the beautiful Gulf of Salerno, and winding out and in along the face of the hills, which tower behind to a considerable height, with a peculiar wild grandeur. Amalfi was once a great and important city, and still boasts of containing in its cathedral the ashes of the apostle St. Andrew; but it was frequently ravaged by the Saracens, and is now little more than a large fishing village, and a considerable place for the manufacture of macaroni. A dish of the latter was admirably served up to F and a friend by the landlord of the Cappucini hotel on the sea-shore, where they spent a night. Both Sorrento and Amalfi are lovely spots, and are greatly resorted to by the Neapolitans;—the former especially, on account of its proximity,—during the summer heats. Embedded in trees, and lying on the cliffs overhanging the sea, Sorrento is always comparatively cool, under the influence of the gentle sea-breeze; and numerous pleasant excursions can be made from it.

F was prevented, by the unsettled state of the weather, from going to Capri to see the far-famed Blue Grotto, which can be entered only on a fine day. He had hoped to visit Pæstum likewise; but owing to the risk of annoyance from the dreaded brigands, English people felt indisposed to join in the proposed



excursion, which was shortly afterwards accomplished with success by a large party of more adventurous Americans armed with revolvers, and under the nominal protection of a guard of soldiers. He was obliged, therefore, to rest content with having its whereabouts on the opposite coast of the Gulf of Salerno pointed out to him, as he returned from Amalfi to meet the Naples train. He had also the satisfaction of seeing, in the distance, the spot where Mr. Moens was captured by the brigands in 1865, and the hills in which they kept him prisoner for so many months after.

In Naples itself, it is very pleasant to drive along the Chiaja in the afternoon, and see all the beauty and fashion of the place. The possession of a carriage of some sort, and of a gay dress to exhibit therein, is essential to the very existence of Neapolitan ladies, who will make any sacrifice at home in order to obtain them. In regard to those occupying a lower social position, it is a never-failing source of amusement to the stranger to walk about the streets of Naples, and simply watch the inhabitants pursuing their business or their pleasures. Whether eating or drinking, or walking or sleeping, they are unlike any other people; and if lazy, idle, and dishonest, they certainly are, as has been said of them, "right merry devils," caring little for anything or anybody, so long as they can get a meal of macaroni. They ask for a trifle to buy macaroni, just as natives of Hindostan beg for half a seer of *attah*, and they in like manner profess always to be dying of hunger.

As respects amusements, besides numerous minor theatres, there is the Grand Opera house of San Carlo, itself well worth seeing; and, by day, an hour or two may at any time be pleasantly devoted to looking at the lovely sets of coral and so-called lava ornaments to be seen in every variety, in the jewellers' shops, and procurable at a comparatively moderate rate. The hotel and cab charges at Naples are much on the same scale as those of Rome; and the stranger requires to be nearly as careful in his money transactions in the former city as in the latter: for money is as scarce in the one as in the other, and the paper currency as much depreciated. But he is not bewildered, as at Rome, by the old Papal currency; and all calculations, whether in paper or in coin, are made in francs and centimes.

In spite of the beauty and attractions of the country, the people of Southern Italy are, for the present, undoubtedly very miserable and very discontented. They say that all they have gained by their change of government is an increase of taxation; while less money is expended locally than in the time of King

Bomba. They speak of the government always as "Piedmontese," not "Italian." In short, there exists in the south a strong reactionary party. It is well to have freedom of thought and of speech; and one appreciates this in Italy, after breathing the unwholesome political atmosphere of Rome. But to consolidate their free institutions, much self-denial and many sacrifices are still required; and some of Italy's best friends begin to doubt whether, after so long a period of misgovernment and neglect, there is virtue enough left among the people to submit to what is necessary in order to restore credit, and make Italy an united and powerful state.

The climate of Naples is delicious from the end of September till the end of December. In the months of February and March cold winds are prevalent, very trying to invalids, and to travellers just arrived from the tropics. They should be careful not to remain long in the south at that particular season, but should spend a few days in Naples, and then pass on to Rome.

F returned to Rome on the 14th March, in company with a most agreeable American lady and gentleman, whose acquaintance he had made at the Hôtel de Russie, and whom he had the pleasure to meet afterwards in Florence. The morning was rainy; but the afternoon proving clear and fine, enabled him to see much of the country which had been concealed by the mist on the journey south. After spending about a fortnight in Rome, he started for Florence at 7 A. M. of the 28th, intending to visit several places of interest on the way. The views from the railway carriage grew prettier and more varied as the train proceeded northwards, especially beyond Foligno (the junction of the Ancona and Florence lines) which was reached a little after 2 o'clock.

We cannot, however, stop with him at Assisi, to visit the extensive monastery of St. Francis, with the very curious double Church (upper and lower) thereto attached, full of interesting frescoes of the 13th century, besides pictures, carved woodwork, and handsome sepulchral monuments. Suffice it to say, that it will well repay the traveller to spend a day there, providing himself beforehand with a supply of good bread, tea, and wine, which are not procurable of safe quality at the Albergo del Leone, a clean and otherwise most respectable house.

Nor can we halt with F at Perugia, which stands, like Assisi, near the top of a hill, and commands exquisite views of the country in all directions. Formerly one of the most important cities of Etruria, it is now the chief town

of Umbria. It is a curious old place, full of interest architecturally : while its churches, museum, and gallery of paintings contain numbers of fine pictures by Raphael, Perugino, Pinturichio, Guido de Siena, Lippo Memmi, &c. Among them, in the Palazzo Comestabili, is Raphael's celebrated *Madonna della Staffa*, one of his loveliest works.

Beyond Perugia the railway passes for several miles along the shore of the far-famed Lake Trasemene, and actually crosses what was the field of battle between the Romans and the Carthagenians. The lake is a fine sheet of water, with low banks, and appeared to advantage from the carriage as the sun shone brightly upon it. Soon after losing sight of this F reached the clean and pleasant little town of Arezzo, the birth-place of Petrarch. Here he had just time to see the fine old porch of the Palazzo del Governo, and the imposing Italian gothic Cathedral, with its beautiful painted glass windows, marble shrine of S. Donatus at the high altar, several fine works in terracotta, and numerous monuments of interest. Then having enjoyed an early dinner at the excellent Hotel Vittoria, and strolled through the streets, which were full of people, it being market day, he left Arezzo at 7, and reached Florence the same night at 10 P. M.

He had luckily secured beforehand a room in Miss Erle's excellent pension No. 6 Lung Arno, which he strongly recommends to the notice of travellers likely to be more than a week in Florence. For a shorter period the Hôtel de Grand Bretagne, or the Hôtel de L'Europe, though more expensive, can be recommended. The Hotel Vittoria too has been recommended by some Indian friends, who passed in it the month of January of the present year, and found it very comfortable. Including attendance, they, a party of nine, paid eleven francs a piece per day,—washing being extra. F's room, a bright and cheerful one looking out on the river, commanded an excellent view, and there were very pleasant people residing in the house during his stay, besides the Ns and others he had known in Rome. Florence was more than usually full at that time, and its public more than ordinarily excited. For not only was the Parliament sitting : a change of ministry occurred just then ; besides which, the trial of Admiral Persano was in progress, and one met at every corner naval officers who had been summoned to the capital to give evidence in his case. Some of F's friends gained admission to the gallery of the chamber on one or two occasions ; but from the position they occupied, even those most familiar with the language found it extremely difficult to hear what was said.

The proceedings in the trial dragged along very slowly, and F had been gone some weeks ere the result was known.

It is unnecessary to say that he was delighted with the place. All who see Florence, even for the briefest period, must be so. There is something so fresh, and bright, and exhilarating in its very air, and it is so lovely, with beauties peculiarly its own: it has such historical memories attaching to it, and boasts of so many of the grandest works of art, that no wonder it exercises a powerful fascination over the mind. The traveller will rejoice to have been at Florence, even if he has time to visit only the Piazza della Signorina, the Loggia di Lanzi, the Palazzo Vecchio with its world known tower, and the Ponte Vecchio with its row of jewellers shops on each side,—all so unlike anything he can see elsewhere, out of Tuscany. If unable to study the admirable collection of pictures of the Florentine school in the *Accademia delle Belle Arti*, or all or any of the private ones, he will look back with no ordinary pleasure on every hour spent in the glorious *Uffizzi* and *Pitti Galleries*. In the ‘*Tribune*’ of the former he will have introduced himself to those gems in sculpture—the *Venus de Medici*, the *Wrestlers*, and the dancing *Fawns*,—and to some of the most beautiful paintings of Raphael, Titian, and others; while in the galleries and rooms beyond, besides noble works by Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Bartolomeo, Andrea del Sarto, Michel Angelo, &c., he will have seen most interesting pictures by Cimabue, Giotto, Fra Angelico da Fiesoli, Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, and others of the old Florentine masters. At first he may have thought them only quaint and curious, in spite of their marvellous coloring; but if he had time to become familiar with them, he probably learnt greatly to admire them.

In the *Pitti palace*, besides paintings by the artists just named, he will have looked upon some of the finest works of Albert Dürer, Salvator Rosa, Reubens, Murillo, Rembrandt, Perugino, and Garofalo, and recognized with delight Raphael’s *Madonna della Seggiola*,—of all the holy families that have ever been painted, the one most admired and most familiar to the Christian world,—and far more lovely in the original than any copy, or print, or photograph, gives any idea of. Here, too, is the same artist’s very beautiful and celebrated representation of the Virgin and Infant Saviour, known as the *Madonna del Gran Duca*; which the ex-Duke of Tuscany still claims from the Italian Government, as having been his private property, and not having belonged to the public gallery. In one of the rooms of this palace are

Michel Angelo's well known and striking picture of the Fates, and a finely painted Dead Christ by F. Bartolomeo.

But while devoting the middle part of the day to the galleries, F gave up a portion of his mornings, as he had done at Rome, to the churches, of which there are many of interest at Florence. The Duomo or Cathedral, handsome though somewhat heavy interiorly, the fine baptistry close by, and the well known beautifully proportioned Campanile, eminently deserve the attention of the stranger. So do the Church of San Lorenzo, and the adjoining Medici chapel, gorgeous in marbles and monuments ; with the famed Medicean library, so rich in literary treasures, especially in manuscripts, and in illuminated missals and books of all kinds. There is the Church of Santa Croce, too, with its splendid Italian—gothic—interior, full of most interesting works of art. Besides frescoes and pictures and fine painted glass in some of its chapels, and in the Sacristy, it contains the tomb of Michel Angelo, and monuments to Danti, Alfieri, Machiavelli, and Galileo, as well as others to men of less world-wide fame.

The Church of S. Carmine on the south side of the Arno, celebrated for its frescoes by several of the old masters, and S. Maria Novella, and S. Spirito, as well as others, also well deserve a visit, if the traveller has a day to spare.

Florence, like Rome, justly boasts of its eminent modern sculptors ; and those who have elsewhere seen the admirable works of Power, Fedi, or Fuller, will gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to pay an afternoon visit to their studios. F greatly admired a beautiful newly finished group by the last named artist, representing the blind girl leading Glaucus and Ione out of Pompeii. But there were many other works of great beauty and merit.

After having seen these, it will be time to go for a drive in the Cascini gardens,—the park of Florence,—or for a walk in the pretty, quaint, terraced Boboli gardens, behind the palace. Excursions may be made to Fiesoli, San Miniato, or the Villa Bellosguarda ; all commanding, from different points, most lovely views of the city and neighbourhood. Carriage-pire is perhaps the one thing that is still cheap in Florence ; and F found those evening drives so enjoyable, that the struggle always was to get home in time for dinner. He can, in particular, never forget the beauty of the sunset, as seen from the Villa Bellosguarda on the last day of his stay. As a place of residence for a family, Florence must be delightful. And after being there, it is easy to understand how loath people are to leave it who have once

made it their home. Not only are the town and suburbs so attractive in themselves. It is a most convenient place to make excursions from in any direction, to the Baths of Lucca, to Pisa, Siena, &c. ; and F took advantage of the occasion to visit the two last, which by rail are, respectively, only two and three hours distant.

At Siena he was much interested by the Palazzo Pubblico or Guildhall, and admired the lofty tower of La Mangia, which rises at its side, and has a strong general resemblance to that of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. He was still more struck by the Cathedral, with its richly decorated front, its unique white and grey marble Mosaic pavement representing numerous scripture histories, its octagonal pulpit with magnificent bas-reliefs, and its Library containing a series of frescoes by Pinturricchio, as fresh as the day they were painted, and a number of beautifully illuminated missals. The Baptistry and some of the other churches also attracted his attention, particularly that of S. Domenico, which boasts of a fine S. Barbara by Matteo da Siena, and a lovely picture, the swoon of S. Catharine, by Sodoma.

At Pisa the beautiful Cathedral and Baptistry, and, above all, the Campo Santo, shared F's admiration with the Campanile or Leaning town, which one has heard so much of, and from the top of which there is a most extensive view, taking in the masts of the ships lying in the port of Leghorn. The town of Pisa is a quiet and interesting old place, and a drive through its streets will well repay the visitor.

From Florence our Anglo-Indian has a variety of routes open to him. He may go from Pisa to Leghorn, and thence by steamer to Marseilles. Or from Leghorn he may go along the coast to Spezzia (a charming place in fine weather), and to Genoa ; and may thence continue his land journey by the Corniche road to Nice, &c. Otherwise, from Florence he will proceed northwards to Bologna by the railway, which, beyond Pistoja, crosses the Apennines by a succession of wonderful zig-zags, viaducts, and tunnels, affording from numerous points lovely views into the valleys below. A day or couple of days may, if they can be spared, be well devoted to Bologna, for it is full of objects of interest ; and the traveller will meanwhile find himself in excellent quarters at Brun's Grande Albergo Swizzero. From Bologna, if in a hurry, he will press on by Piacenza to Alessandria and Turin, getting over the distance in less than six hours. Or he may go to Milan in four hours, and after spending a day and a half there, devote some days or weeks to the lovely

banks of the Lakes Como and Maggiore. After that, if the season is sufficiently advanced, he may cross into Switzerland by the pass of the Simplon, or the St. Gothard. In any case a few days should, if possible, be given up to the lakes, even if the traveller should select the Mount Cenis route over the Alps, as F advises all friends coming from India to do, who have to cross before the middle of May. After that date, and especially after the beginning of June, they will greatly enjoy going over one of the higher passes, and will then see Switzerland to the greatest advantage.

F himself had already seen the lakes and both the passes above-mentioned: he determined therefore to visit Ravenna, Ferrara, Padua, and Venice. The first of these cities comparatively few tourists go to see now-a-days, because it is a little off the high road. But in reality it can be well seen from Bologna in one day: and, besides, its great historical attractions, contains some of the earliest Christian churches now in existence, in which there are the finest mosaics, and numerous tombs and other objects of great interest and very old date.

Ferrara and Padua should both be seen, if possible; but especially the latter, with which the traveller is certain to be well pleased. Venice more than answered to F's pleasantest anticipations, high though these were; and he strongly advises every one to go there, who can possibly manage it: there is so much to be seen that is beautiful in itself, and to be found nowhere else in the world.

Here we break off from this, for Anglo-Indians attractive journal. Enough, we would fain hope, has been written, to induce many to follow in the footsteps of Major F.

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- ART. II.—1. *Studies in European Politics—Russia*. By G. Duff, M.P., 1866.
2. *The Westminster Review*, October, 1867. Article Russia.
3. *Geographical Researches in Turkistan*. By Romanowsky, read at the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, January, 1866.
4. *The Edinburgh Review*. January, 1867.
5. *Etudes sur les Forces Productives de Russie*, par N. L. Tegoborski, Membre de Conseil de l'Empire de Russie. Paris, 1852-54.

THE subject of the Russian approach to our North-west Frontier has, during the last few years, been naturally the theme of grave discussion in the Anglo-Indian Press, both European and Native; it has been observed with a watchful eye by the Supreme Government, which is furnished with ample and accurate information on the question, and is now ventilated in the *Times* and other leading English papers. The period, then, seems fully come to enter on its consideration calmly, without panic, viewing it in all its bearings, prompted neither by Russo-phobia nor Russo-mania motives,—not believers in the Utopian idea of the speedy approach of an era of universal peace, and firmly holding to the need of a strong defence of our Indian Frontier, and, as indispensable for that, the necessity of the Euphrates Valley, Peshawur, and Indus Valley railways. We regard it, however, mainly as it bears on two questions closely connected—the welfare of 200,000,000 Natives, our Indian-fellow subjects,—and the maintaining of the British supremacy in India as the only safeguard from fearful anarchy, and as affording the only prospect of developing the mental and material resources of this vast country. Russia most decidedly could not do the work England is now accomplishing, as her own statesmen admit she is a century behind England.

We think the *Times* and other English papers, however, are mistaken in their assertion that a policy of military intervention in Afghanistan is advocated by the Indian Press generally. Two papers advocate it,—the *Friend of India* and the *Delhi Gazette*: but the *Friend of India* does not recommend an occupation of the country. The *Times of India*, the



*Calcutta Englishman*, and a number of other papers do not advocate it. The native newspapers write in such ignorance of our foreign policy, that their opinions carry no weight : they are chiefly echoes in this point of a few English papers and of bazar gossip.

The English Press represents Anglo-Indians as in a state of panic regarding Russia : we do not consider this correct. So far from it, as far as opinions can be collected, we believe the majority of Anglo-Indians incline to the views expressed by the *Manchester Guardian* and a host of English papers, that " Russian conquest " in Central Asia is a step in the progress of civilization, the " substitution of a strong and settled Government for the chronic " anarchy of a multitude of rival Chiefs, and the terrorism of " roving brigands." To the mercantile interests of India the latter view is very important ; and merchants anxious to develop trade are beginning to feel that a good understanding with Russia, as well as Russian roads and canals, may subserve British interests ; for foreigners, and particularly Englishmen, have always found a fair and open field in Russia, where restrictive laws on trade are, notwithstanding strong opposition, gradually giving way to free trade principles, and victory is only a question of time. We commend to the mercantile community of India and to those who look on the mere military side of Russia, the following important information from the *Times* of September 18th, 1867, copied into the Lahore *Government Gazette* of January 31st, 1868 :—

" The history which Russia has been so energetically making for the last seven years in Central Asia, which previously had little or no history worth reading, has invested the Russian tea trade with peculiar interest for Englishmen. Tashkend, the commercial capital of Central Asia, has become a Russian city, the capital of Russian Turkistan ; and the Syr Daria, the great natural highway through the very heart of Central Asia, has become a Russian river. The Himalayan tea countries are thus opened up to a population of 60,000,000, whose passion for this article of first necessity is described as at least equal to that of an Irishman for his whisky. A Russian seems to consume more tea than a Chinese. To judge of the development of which this commerce is susceptible we have only to consider two things. One is that 60,000,000 of insatiable tea-drinkers now only consume 28,000,000 lbs. annually, or less than half a pound per head ; while the more moderate Briton consumes seven times as much, raising our home consumption to more than 100,000,000 lbs. The other is, that disturbances, which would seem to be the first wave of a far greater movement, have all but suspended the overland tea trade between Russia and China. But anarchy and insurrection are supplemented by even a more potent and, indeed, a more permanent influence " in restraint of trade"—namely, protection. This will solve the problem which no doubt has presented itself to the reader's mind. How comes it that these 60,000,000 of tea-drinkers only consume a seventh as much as half their number of beer and whisky drinkers ? It cannot be merely

from their relative poverty, because it is the poorer classes who are the best customers in England. The fact is that protection has very nearly succeeded in killing with mistaken kindness the legitimate tea trade of Russia. Of this, as of the Russian love for tea, many striking as well as humorous illustrations are given in Mr. Lumley's Report.

"It is a striking coincidence that the military progress of Russia in these regions should, in at least one important circumstance, have for its ultimate and indirect effect, though not for its final cause, the promotion of British interests and British commerce. For our dealings with the Russians through this avenue would by no means be confined to tea. Mr. Lumley compliments the Government of the Czar on its perseverance in opening up a route for commerce through regions hitherto so difficult to penetrate, and removing obstacles which appeared insuperable. He regrets that we cannot take credit to ourselves for corresponding enterprise and activity on our side. Had we, the great traders of the world, been equally studious and energetic in doing what we are supposed to understand better than any body else, England and Russia might at this moment be busy in buying and selling together in Central Asia, and the Syr Daria might be covered with the marts of commerce passing to and fro between Russia and Hindustan."

We believe nearly all Englishmen in India will now concur, regarding the question of a Russian invasion of India, with the sentiments expressed by Arnold in his able work, "*Dalhousie's Administration of British India*;" "Russia destined to a fair but distant future has abandoned the presumption of seeking to seize the reins of the Indian Empire. The Phaethon of the North holds a course at home wide enough to employ any ambition, and Tartary with Siberia may serve to engross an energy, great indeed, but unequal for many future ages to the aspirations of Peter and Nicholas." Doubtless the invasion of India by the Russians, like that of England by France, is practicable; one necessary preliminary desideratum however in each is—money the sinews of war; and the next is, what nations look to now as of great importance, the *cui bono* in a material sense. But in India the supposed designs of Russia on India are not sufficiently connected with the following considerations: Russia knows well that an invasion of India implies *war to the knife with all the resources of the British Empire, war in the Baltic and Black Seas, the crippling of her commerce, and the draining of her resources for many a year.* Russia is well aware, as in the case of Moscow, of the evils of advancing into a strange country, far from the sources of supply, with a may-be hostile population on the flanks; she knows how weak she is financially to wage a war with England, and she feels the truth of Lord Palmerston's declaration in the House of Commons in 1853, that "there never has been a great State whose power for external aggression has been more overrated than that of Russia

"She may be impregnable within her own boundaries, but she is "nearly powerless for any purpose of offence." He referred to aggression on a European power like the British. Russia knows, as France and other nations are learning, that in a monetary point of view, "no country is worth conquering when defended by modern "skill and science;" and that India could only be gained by the utter ruin of England, and after England had spent her last shilling and man in the defence.

Russia is also aware, as has been so clearly pointed out in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1867, that all the passions and prejudices of Islam are arrayed against her. The Moslem and the Russians are and have been always in the relation of Carthaginian and Roman. She knows, therefore, that with these and the wild races, the nearer she approaches India, the worse will be her entanglement, and that with England having troops massed at the Khyber and Bolan Passes, and Railways along her Frontier, an invasion would have very problematic success, while a retreat might be fatal to her and rouse all Central Asia against her. And to succeed she must at the same time cope with the whole force of the English power in Europe as well as in Asia. The fact is, as we could easily shew if space allowed, there is no party in Russia wishing to try its spurs with England, at least in the present generation. The Crimean war was the only real war Russia ever had with us; and even then, with the Emperor Nicholas a good understanding with England was the corner-stone of his policy, but we drifted into the Crimean war with its cost of 100 millions and loss of prestige, through the influence of France and Sir Stratford De Radcliffe. Allowing an invasion to be practicable, and that men and money were fully at the command of Russia, still there are causes at work which, we shall show subsequently, must postpone this to what Vambery calls a 'distant future'; while every day's delay adds to the cause of peace. The Czar has shown his sincerity by degrading the two Generals who entered on a course of aggressive warfare at Bokhara; though we believe the inevitable force of circumstances must lead Russia to occupy Bokhara and the country as far as the Hindu Kush, as we have occupied the Punjab.

Russia will find, as she advances in Central Asia, a ground undermined with suspicion towards all foreigners. Vambery states, that "Russia is regarded as the quint-essence of all fraud and cunning, by which means she has "alone of late years contrived to effect her conquests. As for "England, it is well known that the late Amir of Bokhara, on the

"first occasion in which he came into contact with the British" was quite indignant that the Inigily whose name had only risen "to notice within a few years, should dare call themselves *Dowlat* (Government) when addressing him." The latest accounts from St. Petersburg indicate that Russia is beginning to feel this state of things; and that she who lives in glass houses must not throw stones. Provisions are getting dear; the cost of transit from Orenburg has doubled; the further she goes from her base the more her line of defence is extended, and therefore becomes more liable to attack. She has English experience in Afghanistan before her, and may any day realise the truth of Ahmad Shah Dowrani's statement on his deathbed: "Afghanistan is a hive in which there is no honey, and from which only swarms of venomous wasps issue."

Anglo-Indians accustomed to look at matters from the Indian point of view, cannot understand the position so well known in Europe, that nations can be neighbours without fighting, though they may occasionally growl at each other, as France and Prussia do on the Rhine, and as England has repeatedly done in her fits of panic respecting a French invasion. Anglo-Indians overlook the consideration that it is more likely that by the Russians being our neighbours we shall know each other better; that we shall have to deal with *responsible* officials, and not be sold, as we are now, by mercenary Kabulees and penny-a-liners; that each party will recognise what at present, from distance and ignorance, they are unacquainted with—the links of trade; and that each having it in his power to injure the other severely, mutual forbearance will be necessary. The day may not be distant when there will be an opening out of Central Europe and Russia to Indian trade *via* Central Asia, and the Caspian and Black Seas; when Russian Merchants shall come to India, and Anglo-Indian merchants travel to Moscow and Nijni Novogorod.

The Anglo-Indian mind has been cast in a war mould, and cannot yet quite shake off the old idea that India is isolated from Europe, separated by a Cape voyage; hence its surprise at the approach of Russia from the Central Asia side. It forgets that France having nearly completed the Suez Canal, will soon afford a passage to India and China for Prussia, Italy, and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean; while the Persian Gulph and Euphrates Railway will lay India open to Constantinople and Central Europe, as the Oxus will to Russia, and Northern and Eastern Europe. The days of India's isolation are numbered; and it is refreshing to look forward to new openings out to

Europe and see the prospect of Teutonic and Slavonic ideas coming, as Anglo Saxon do now, into collision with the stagnant thoughts of the land of the sun.

In India it is too much forgotten that Europe is becoming more and more the United States of Europe,—on a quasi federal principle ; and that trade, art, literature, steam are bringing nations into close contact and, notwithstanding occasional squalls, promoting the great principles of international communication. Asia, and especially India, cannot remain unaffected by a state of things which will in a few years enable a tourist to go from London, visit St. Petersburg, Moscow, Nijni Novogorod, Kasan, and Astrachan, steam round the Caspian, enjoy the magnificent scenery of the Caucasus, and return *vid* Odessa and Constantinople, within four weeks, to London ; and the day is not distant when the English traveller will be able to go by rail the whole way from Constantinople through southern Russia, right across the Caucasus to the Caspian, then steam across the Caspian, proceed by rail to the Oxus, and so down through Turkistan to India.

The Anglo-Indian mind requires to study European politics, and particularly those of Russia. For instance, it treats of Russia as if the Emperor Nicholas's vile Tory system were still in the ascendant ; as if one of the most sweeping of reforms had not passed over that Hercules in its cradle. On this latter point we beg to call attention to the following remarks of G. Duff, Esq., M. P. in his valuable book, "Studies in European Politics," he states, p. 131 :

"After all, the rule of the present Czar has lasted only ten years, and yet how much has been effected ! To say nothing of the emancipation of the serfs, and the gradual creation of an enormous mass of free proprietors—surely one of the greatest changes for good which has ever been effected by a single act—we have the relaxation of the censorship, the reduction of the price of passports from £80 to a figure which permits any one to travel, the abolition of several atrocious methods of punishment, the institution of representative bodies for local matters, an amnesty which restored to their country many of the victims of Nicholas, a humaner system in the navy, improvements in the Universities, increased facilities for communication, and a generally gentler and more civilised spirit in the administration."

The mistakes generally made in India as well as in England about Russia, arise from ignorance of the great and extensive changes tending to a pacific policy, that have come over that country since the days of the despot Nicholas, a man who did all he could to stifle the intellectual energies of sixty millions. Why do not Anglo-Indians make themselves acquainted with the events of the new and glorious reign of Alexander the 2nd ? If for no other reason, it would enable them to enlighten the natives of this

country who, in utter defiance of Geography and History, write in the most absurd way about Russia. They read of her as a mere military power, and are utterly unacquainted with those great social changes which are now fermenting in that Empire. We deplore as much as any one, the many and great offences Russia has been guilty of ; but we would at the same time say with the writer of an excellent article on Russia in the *Westminster Review* for October : " In recognising present reforms " we do not attempt to whitewash a past. With nations as with " children, we may despair of new ways if we never cease to " forget the naughtiness of youth time. Acknowledging, as none " would be more ready\* to do than the Russians themselves, her " deficiencies, there is yet ground for commendation of Emperor " and people ; and if the curbing of princes' power, the reform " of a vicious police, the enfranchisement of millions, is not a " proof that the song of humanity,\* which Victor Hugo never " ceases to sing, has at length found an echo in Russia—if this " is not the case, then freedom is an idea, and Hugo's perpetual " song the out-pouring of a vague sentiment ! The war of true " Christianity, as distinguished from that of priests, has at length " left its mark on Russian soil."

It is a fact that Russia is advancing to our Frontier and most decidedly requires watchfulness—but not panic, and especially before natives. Indian History shows that we ourselves have advanced from " three grocer's godowns " in 1752, to an empire of 200,000,000, though in 1784 the House of Commons passed a resolution that " to pursue schemes of conquest and extension " of dominion in India is contrary to the wish, the honor, and " policy of the British nation." But the career pursued by England in the South is the same as that by Russia in the North, illustrating the remark of Arnold : " It is unavoidable not to " recognise a law which like that in physics makes the greater " attract and absorb the less, compelling the march of the " energetic Saxon (*Sic Slav.*) over and through the weak Oriental " mass. Wine colors water, forest trees will make underwood " perish, and strong races in contact with effete ones, in spite " of sentiment, will extend their borders." St. Petersburg, like Leadenhall Street, may issue restrictions on their servants—but the force of things carries the day. We state it as a fact : but we do not justify this aggressive policy. One has advanced from Georgia to Bokhara in about the same ratio as the other has gone from the Sutlej to Peshawur. As to one railing at the other for ambition and aggression, it is the " kettle calling the pot black : " in both cases factories have been made forts, and the

merchant has paved the way for the soldier. The *Times* puts this case very pointedly when it states :—

“ When Russia tells us she never intended to advance or to conquer, but that the work has been incessantly forced upon her by the necessities of her position, is not this exactly the compulsion which for the last three generations we have been feeling and pleading for ourselves ? ” As to Russian ambition in Asia, or French in Africa, American in California, or English in China and Burmah—they are about equal.

Is it not Russia's manifest destiny to go to the sunny south from the cold north, to exchange frosts and sleet for the land of genial warmth, to abandon partially the misty, frozen, marshy, mouldy, and gloomy region of St. Petersburg ? As Garwoski in his able work “ Russia and its People ” shows, “ Slavic and Russian destinies point towards Asia, point out towards the East. ” This is inevitable, and will proceed in an accelerated ratio as her iron roads link her with Odessa and the Caucasus. The same law that is transferring the Capital of India from swampy, malarious Calcutta to the Himalayas for part of the year, and which when the Bombay line is opened, will probably transfer it to the highlands of Puna, is leading Russia to the south, away from the dismal frost and swamps of St. Petersburg and its bureaucracy, while it will unite her with the people of Europe, unimpeded by frosts and ice. The centralisations of St. Petersburg and Calcutta are giving way before the principle of a federal capital and decentralised administration, which must abate that evil common to both countries—red tape and bureaucracy.

In the Crimea, the Russians have one of the most delicious climates in the world, the Isle of Wight of the aristocracy. Numbers are flocking there now for the benefit of its bathing and Kumis, or mares' milk. The Imperial family have been spending the last summer there, having erected splendid residences ; some of the members have visited the magnificent scenery of the Caucasus. The rail will soon link the Black Sea with Moscow and St. Petersburg on one side, and with the Caspian on the other by the Caucasus railway rapidly progressing ; from the Caspian, a route by rail or canal to Bokhara is in contemplation, which will give what will be mutually beneficial both to Russia and England—a passenger and traffic route from India to Central Europe.

While mercantile bodies in India are beginning to feel that with Russia as a neighbour, trade, especially in tea, may be opened out on a large scale *vid* Turkistan, and that a strong power like Russia is necessary to secure a transit route through Central Asia, we have on the other hand a large body of

military unemployed, naturally pining for action, who view Russia merely in her military power, and who to a certain extent impress their views on men in authority. There is little real *public* opinion in India, especially on foreign questions, to keep in check a large military body who naturally exult in prospect of storms; their profession is to push the Government to an aggressive policy; they have not to *pay the cost of war*. Mr. Layard had reason to warn the Foreign Office in England of "that band of schemers and intriguers who flocked there;" such advice is not inapplicable to India where in hot weather, when papers are dull and the heavens brass, spicy exciting talk is required, and the slowness of promotion is a natural subject for grumbling. The *Times* states on this head: "The real influence at work is not the fears of Russia but the desire of military employment; and our Indian Armies, impatient of inaction, pine for war. If the Anglo-Indian public will read what is said of the expedition to Abyssinia, they may conjecture what we should think of the far more perilous expedition to Afghanistan." These men give the tone more or less to Indian Society\*: they feel not the pressure of over-taxation, nor the demoralising influences of aggressive war.

From these remarks must be exempted the Commander-in-Chief and Heads of Departments. Like Wellington in former days, they have seen too much of the curse and evil of war to be anxious to plunge into it without some grave reason. They know well that popularity with the Army in encouraging aggressive war, would be dearly purchased by internal insurrection from the increased pressure of taxation, which is becoming more and more the difficulty of Government.

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\* *The London Spectator* for December 14th, 1867, thus graphically describes this class:—

"The Anglo-Indian community, the immense Club of seven thousand gentlemen, who fight and govern and trade throughout a continent, who are on all great questions as united as that other Club which governs the British Army, who with that continent in insurrection were within a hair's breadth of deposing the Viceroy for disobeying them, are visibly getting their periodical fever fit of Imperialism. They are, be it remembered, as regards Asia, all politicians, and politicians of the school which find in the dramatic incidents and "happy chances" of foreign affairs, a relief from sterile squabbling over parochial concerns.

"When they go to war they do not think they are risking England's prosperity, but their own; that of the Empire they have built, with its imperial revenue and great military institutions. And lastly, they are all persuaded that in Asia India is, and ought to be, what France once was in Europe, the only real power, which can do whatever is expedient, which can take Afghanistan, or conquer China, or organize the Archipelago, or surround itself with petty States, or, in short, do anything needful to secure



Officers want promotion and action : what is it to them if the country behind them is in a blaze ? They are not responsible for the stoppage of all works of public improvement, lines of rail, canals, education ; they hear not the groans of the millions pressed down with new taxes levied to carry out their views : of them the ryots may say like the frogs in the fable, 'Gentlemen, what may be sport to you, to us is death.' Before these military men lies the Indian programme—all Burmah annexed, half of China under British administration, garrisons in Quetta, Kandahar and up to Herat, a lion's share of Abyssinia, half the ports of Persia, native princes swept away to provide fat berths for the Staff. These gentlemen utterly ignore who is to pay for this ; millions may bleed for their selfish gratification, if they are provided with brevet promotion ; all the public improvements must be stinted ; and the Empire of one-fifth the population of the globe is to be risked for the barren rocks of Afghanistan and the phantom of Russian invasion. We ought to be sure of our ground, before we run such risks as are involved in military intervention in Central Asia.

Under these circumstances it is a happy thing for the people of India, that matters of general policy will not be decided in India where local and bureaucratic prejudices, earth-hunger, military spoliation, and race antagonism are so strong—where personal interests and narrow views exercise such a prodigious influence—where the Supreme Government finds it difficult to carry out a broad, liberal policy. In England, on the other hand, there is a Council, composed of experienced Indians, representing the various Presidencies of India, who, in connection with the Supreme Council of India, are controlled by English opinion : these, happily for India, regulate matters. The necessity of this was shown during the Mutiny, when "Clemency Canning" and his Council had to rely on the calm, merciful, and far-seeing support of England against Anglo-Indian opinion, which, with some noble

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their single end—the maintenance of the "just influence," that is, the unchecked supremacy of Great Britain in all countries East of the Isthmus of Suez.

"Three years ago the opportunity was sought in China, every Indian ear listening for tidings of Mr. Lay's success ; last year half India was clamouring for North Burmah ; it is very much inclined even now to seize Siam lest the French in Cochin China should get there ; but, after long hovering, Anglo-Indian opinion seems to have settled on Central Asia.

"A Viceroy might remain insensible to newspaper sarcasms, but in India, papers of the very poorest class are crammed with letters, memoranda, articles, from men whose opinion is worth having, officers commanding armies, civilians ruling districts, Envoys in Native Courts, the very men on whom the Viceroy must rely as agents, advisers, and pioneers."

exceptions, called, now in panic and now burning with revenge, for a policy of degradation to Natives,—down with the nigger. Happily, in the latter respect, things are now much improved; Europeans and Natives live on much better terms, and both are learning that their mutual co-operation is necessary.

Let us renounce this policy of suspicion. A writer in the *Westminster Review* for October last, states on the question of English sympathy with Russian improvement:—"Is it perfectly consistent to praise the emancipation of serfs and cry aloud if the Russian attempts to touch the chains of the Eastern white? No! Such civilization as the Russian people yet possess may with advantage be carried into the vast regions of Central Asia, until, touching the same Himalayan range, English and Russian shall rejoice together that they have replaced offete races, and swept away the barbarity of the Emirs who ruled them."\* The *Spectator* is an echo of English opinion when it states: "If Russia comes to the Suleeman as a civilized power with railways and treasures and civil order, she will be a better neighbour than the hereditary brigands we are asked to tame: if she comes as a mere invader, a white Timour, the place to fight here is the Punjab, whence we have railway communications with the Sea. In any case, to expend our revenue and waste it on scanty forces of men in holding that valley of desolation between the Khyber and Herat, where sepoys are in winter about as useful as sheep, before Russia has arrived at the latter place, is a wantonness of exertion of which only an Anglo-Indian accustomed to believe that his mere volition is executive, could possibly be guilty."

One of the most striking signs of the times, indicating the commencement of a *rapprochement* to Russia on the part of England, is an article which has appeared in the *Westminster Review* for October 1867, on Russia, well deserving serious study in India. This *Review* is the organ of the advanced liberal party of men who are coming into power with the new Reform Bill; and its

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\* Is not what Burke said in 1791, in reference to the Turks, applicable *ceteris paribus* to the Tukomans? What had these worse than savages to do with the Powers of Europe, but to spread war, destruction, and pestilence among them? The ministry advocating the policy which would give these people any weight in Europe would deserve all the banes and curses of posterity. All that was holy in religion, all that was moral and humane, demanded an abhorrence of everything which tended to extend the power of that cruel and wasteful Empire." Read these remarks in the light of Vambery's travels, and can we uphold such a rule? We that have turned the King of Oudh off his throne for cruelty and mal-administrations—are we to support the King of Bokhara who was far more guilty?

influence is, therefore, likely to be considerable on English policy. It points out that "the sympathy between Russia and England in the days of Nicholas arose much from Tory sympathies, mutual between the landowners of England and the serf-proprietors of Russia. Russia was then regarded by the English aristocracy as the land of conservatism, the barrier against democracy, which was to come in some day and keep kings, lords, and bishops from drowning in the democratic tide. The Crimean war cooled this friendship, the great Act of Emancipation was brought about, and 23 millions were released from bondage without the enthusiasm of the English middle classes being much kindled. The English Government having lost its ancient grounds of sympathy for Russia, has not replaced them by those newer grounds which the altered social condition of Russia demands from English feeling. The English people themselves are far from realising that which has taken place in Russia, which should command their regard. America offers a different example. She, putting aside all questions of political interest, plainly recognizes that Russia is now a free nation, with youth, vigor, and (practically) a tendency to much more popular institutions than people here dream of. Thus America thinks and gives the tone to the Washington Cabinet, whilst we go on in the old line, perfectly unconscious that if Russia deserved the fellow-feeling of our ancient Tories, she most certainly deserves the cordial regards of the modern liberals, who believe in freedom and a due levelling of prince and peasant in social rights and liberties. Thus it has been a very unfair thing towards Russia that, whilst the Emperor has consummated an act which is as important a step towards the world's future freedom as that which the abolitionist has effected in America; the English people have stood by with scarcely a mark of applause. It is quite time that this should change, and that our former proclivities whether as Liberals or Conservatives, should give place to a better apprehension of the new road along which Russia is marching—a road difficult, no doubt, for those who rule her, encumbered as they are with the machinery of bureaucratic centralization, inherited from Peter and Catherine, but which, nevertheless, is a road of progress of a very marked nature."

This tendency to constitutional government referred to above, is not new. The *Quarterly Review*, in an able article published in 1862, showed that Russia in former days was a comparatively liberal country. When the present Romanoff line was elected—a century and a half ago—to the throne by the nobles, they had to "take an oath of solemn fidelity to the Constitution, not to levy

"new taxes," nor to declare war "without the preliminary vote of the two legislative and overruling chambers." Even down to the "days of Peter the Great, every ukase was headed, "The Czar has ordered and the boyars (nobles) have decided."

*Under this altered state of things in Russia, should not our sentiments towards her be altered?* There are indications of this; the *Punjab Gazette* throws out hints that are very important as coming from the official organ of the Government of the Punjab. In its second supplement issued at Lahore, 30th January 1868, it publishes for general information a paper by T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C. B., on the trade between India and Central Asia. Mr. Forsyth is a Government Commissioner. He has visited Russia. His paper, after referring on the authority of Heeren, Gtesias, and others, to the trade carried on, ages ago, between India, Persia, and the countries bordering on the Caspian, and the importance of re-opening it, then submits the following important propositions:—

"The question for us to consider is how we are to act, so that Russia and England may be busy in *buying and selling together* in Central Asia, and how the Syr Daria is to be covered with the argosies of commerce passing to and fro *between Russia and Hindoostan*. The easiest route between Russia and Hindoostan is unquestionably to be found by way of Afghanistan and Bokhara, whether the starting point be Kurrachee, Mooltan or Peshawur. But until the affairs of Afghanistan are somewhat more settled than they are at present, we could hardly hope to see trade expand to any very great extent.

*"All that is necessary for us to do is to come to some understanding with the Court of St. Petersburg.* It is easy to see how, if we do not come to some such understanding, we may find nothing but trouble in Central Asia. Now it is very evident, that if Russia and England abandon in the East the policy of friendly communication which they maintain in the West, and directly or indirectly urge the nations which intervene between our borders to make war on each other, we shall not fulfil our duties as civilized powers, nor shall we derive any benefit from such a proceeding.

"But I venture a suggestion, that if Russia and England were to combine for the common cause of extending commerce and civilization, we might bring our influence to bear on the two countries of Kokan and Turkistan, so as to keep up those States as neutral ground, open to both the European nations for purposes of trade, and thus we might secure all the advantages that could possibly be derived from their occupation by an European power, without incurring any danger, which, however remote, is not altogether impossible.

"If it be true, as apparently it is, that the Russians are so very desirous of obtaining our teas, why should we not let them know what has been done, and is in contemplation, in the way of establishing Fairs and opening our trade with Turkistan? If would be an easy matter for them to arrange to receive our consignments of tea in Yarkhand or Kashgar, and all the political complications engendered by any effort to adopt the Afghanistan and Bokhara route, would be avoided. *If England and Russia are destined to meet in Asia, as I suppose no one can for one moment*

doubt, let us meet as friends, and not as foes, and on ground which is comparatively inaccessible to large armies, so that there will be all the less fear to either of aggression from the other."

The *Westminster Review*, the organ of the advanced Liberals, in its number for last October expresses a similar sentiment :

"When Napoléon I. said that some day Europe would have to choose between being Cossack and Republican, he gave expression to the sentiments of the party of progress and freedom against old tradition and slavery. Europe, including Russia, has selected Republicanism, because Cossackism, in the sense Napoléon used the word, ceased to exist when the ukase of emancipation was published. For this reason those who still regard Russia and the United States as the antipodes of each other, scarcely grasp present facts under which the majority of both nations are individually landed proprietors. It is true that Russia has not representative institutions in their full perfection, but they will follow in due time."

"The strict alliance between the Courts of Washington and St. Petersburg, always more than cordial during the Crimean and Confederate wars, has received a fresh proof in the visit of Mr. Fox, the Under-Secretary of the United States Navy, in August last year, when he came to congratulate the Czar on his preservation from the assassin ; and also, as it appears, to do a little business in the purchase of the territory already alluded to. As we stated at the commencement of this paper, we believe that America has been before us in recognizing in Russia a young nation with a tendency to free institutions, and we prefer to assign this as the *motive* for the alliance rather than accuse them both, as some have done in our hearing, of a common jealousy for all that constitutes civilization in Western Europe. Doubtless there is a hope that the alliance may be useful, but it is not a friendship that precludes one on our part. By nature the Russian and Anglo-Saxon are sympathetic. In their love of trade, in their energy, in their hospitality they are *en rapport*. The Russian and Italian natures do not assimilate. With the Anglo-Saxon it is different. Less highly civilized, more open-handed, more rough and ready than the Latin races, the Russian finds in our countrymen more that appeals to his sympathy. As with people so with courts and cabinets; and if there is any value in a Russian alliance, it is the fault of our statesmen and diplomatists if those of our lineage across the Atlantic supplant us at the Winter Palace."

G. Duff, M. P., in an able article in the 31st number of the *North British Review*, on "Russia under Alexander the Second,"

and since reprinted in his 'Studies on European Politics,' re-echoes the sentiment :—

" *England and Russia have all to gain and nothing to lose by being better acquainted.* Neither of us can hurt the other seriously, except by exciting insurrection among our respective subjects, or stimulating the hostility of the tribes contiguous to our borders. Such a policy must re-act against the power that uses it, for against both the cry of religion in danger and the cry for independence could easily be raised. If the statesmen of the two empires thoroughly understood each other, it could be nothing but a cause of rejoicing to us that Khiva and Bokhara received law from St. Petersburg, and the reaction against barbarian invasion which was begun by Demetrius of the Don had reached at length the ancient capital of Timur."

The Editor of the *London Record* which is well informed on Indian subjects, and represents the Shaftesbury party in politics, thus puts the question :—

" If, however, Russia does not imitate our forbearance, we may be compelled, in self-defence, either to come to a definite understanding with her, or to encounter her schemes with weapons taken from her own armoury. India has already been extended to its natural frontiers, and we have no wish for further annexation. But it would never do for our neighbours to be kept in more than their normal state of excitement by Russian intrigues, which might render the occupation of adjacent territory less costly than the maintenance of enormous defensive preparations."

The Editor of the *Bombay Gazette* of May 25, 1865, echoes a similar sentiment for the Western Presidency, and one that has been long advocated by the *Times of India*, viz.,—that the progress of Russia against barbarism is a subject for sympathy, and that the danger to our Indian Empire is too remote to be taken into account. He makes the following important suggestions :—

" The miserable game of counteracting the influence of Russia at these petty Mussulman courts by rival embassies, or by secret bribery, had much better be avoided altogether ; nor do we believe our Government would ever seriously contemplate engaging in it. If they did, they would do so at a great disadvantage, for Russia is before us, and has access where we have not. In a word, the Tartars respect Russia, while they have no sort of respect for us, and know but little about us. We should only lose what little prestige we may happen to have gained in those remote countries, by any efforts made on the spot to counteract Russian influence in Independent Tartary.

"The fact is, that the general question as to how far it is good policy for Great Britain to oppose or aid the advance of Russia in those countries, is to a great extent settled for our statesmen by circumstances; for in reality it is very little they can do in the matter one way or another. They cannot, if they would, prevent Russia being a great and powerful empire, and exercising paramount influence amongst the barbarous nations in the north of Asia. They cannot prevent her having easier access to the interior of Tartary from the southern provinces of her dominion, than we can have from the side of India; they cannot alter the circumstances which have given her facilities for acting in those regions, which we could not command. To attempt to oppose her by diplomatic action on the spot would be futile, because diplomacy backed by battalions such as Russia can use, will always be far more effectual among half-civilised people, than diplomacy without them, which is all that England could employ. Obviously, the right course is for *the two Cubinets to come to an understanding together, and pursue in common and harmoniously that policy which may be best for the interests of mankind.*"

A response also comes to these views from the banks of the Neva, in an article published in the *Golos*, the organ of the Russian democratic party, on the 7th of December, 1866. It is stated:—

"We can venture to affirm that the prolonged stay of the Heir to the English Throne in Russia will conduce in no small degree to the dispersion of false prejudices in England against Russia, and to a *rapprochement* between the two great nations of the West and East of Europe.

"It must be acknowledged that the present relations of England with Russia do not at all correspond with the true interests of these countries. Hitherto England has endeavoured, wherever she could, to undermine Russian influence. Russia, on her part, under the circumstances, has repaid England with very natural distrust. These constrained relations between Russia and England, besides having already led to a sanguinary struggle between them, re-act injuriously, at the present moment, on the commercial intercourse between the two countries, which intercourse has been established since the reign of John the Terrible. \* \* \* \* \*

"As regards Central Asia, our relations with England in this distant portion of the globe have latterly assumed a much more favourable aspect. Public opinion on this point in England has changed so much (thanks to the learned explanations of Sir Roderick Murchison, who has shown all the absurdity of the apprehensions of a Russian invasion of India), that our recent

" conquests in Central Asia have not produced any very unfavourable impression in England. An amicable division between Russia and England in Central Asia is quite practicable. What has not been conquered there by one power, might, without any opposition, be conquered by the other, more especially as the advantages of such acquisitions are contested by many. We even do not see any reason for dissatisfaction in the possibility of our Central Asiatic frontier soon forming the boundary also of the Anglo-Indian Empire ; such a frontier would at all events determine the commercial fields for the disposal of English and Russian productions, and would considerably weaken, if not altogether remove, all dangerous rivalry. That the sale under such circumstances both of English and Russian productions in Central Asia would rapidly increase is at once evident. The chief obstacles to trade in this region are the incessant depredations and rapacious exactions made by petty Asiatic despots: all these drawbacks must at once disappear under English and Russian rule, and then an interchange of commodities will freely take place. The expansion of the frontier to a mutual point of contact between Russian and English territory, will not only decrease the chances of collision between Russia and England, but also conduce to amity and a feeling of friendship between these countries, seeing, more especially, that a conflict between them in such a distant region would be disadvantageous to both, and only lead to mutual losses."

The working classes of England have a bond of sympathy with Russia in the noble deeds of the latter towards her peasantry in raising them to a high social status. They elect rural Magistrates now, sit as Justices on the same benches with the nobles, and vote equally with them in the Provincial Assemblies. Education is being bestowed to qualify them for their new duties. Recently at Moscow, the head of his class at the first school in that city, was the son of a peasant, freed only in 1861. The Russia of Nicholas, like the Bengal Government, aimed only at varnishing an upper class, leaving the masses without any protection ; but Alexander the Second ranks with Gladstone and Bright, in his sympathy for the working men—the back-bone of the Empire. The people are making their voice heard through the Press, and we have the remarkable case lately in which the Editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, the "Times" of Russia, had his paper suspended by the Minister of the Interior, because it condemned severely some of the proceedings of that Functionary, but the Czar, who wishes for the light of the Press, revoked the suspension at once, in spite of bureaucratic opposition.



It might hasten the *rapprochement* suggested above, and lessen people's apprehensions respecting Russia's approach to India, to consider that she is now re-opening an old channel for trade between Central Europe and India *via* Russia, which existed in the middle ages.

The golden link of trade with Central Asia is one of our best defences, in giving the natives a better knowledge of, and interest in, British stability: commerce has always been a peace-maker, and the merchant and banker are often valuable sources of intelligence. Government without compromising itself by appointing European Political Agents, can use mercantile men as sources of information, as Russia has long done. Sir Bartle Frere, at a meeting of the Scinde Railway Company, held lately in London, said with telling truth—"The great battle of the country for the tranquillity of Central Asia must be fought in Manchester and Liverpool."

As it is a subject little known generally, we shall give a few particulars.

Balkh has been for 3,000 years the centre of a traffic between India and China, Persia and the Oxus, by the Valley of the Oxus.

The Romans carried on a trade between China and Western Asia at the beginning of the Christian era. India conducted one with China in silk, as well as with Khotan and the desert of Kobi, five centuries before Ptolemy's time. The Arabs extended their conquests to the Caucasus and pursued an extensive traffic with the nations to the west and north of the Caspian Sea. They frequented Astrakan, and spread their commerce across Russia to the Baltic, exchanging the rich productions of the East for the fish and poultry of the north; hence Arabian coins have been found as far as the White Sea and Prussia, of a date anterior to the tenth century, and belonging to Central Asia. In the middle ages the people of the north of Europe engaged in a considerable trade with the Arabs through the agency of the Slavonians. When Rabruquis visited Karakorum, he found a great number of Germans, French, and other European prisoners residing at the Court of the Great Khan; they were employed to manufacture arms, and as artisans in the works and the mines. The Nestorians in the sixth century introduced Bactrian civilization into western China. Timur intended to have made Samarkand the greatest city of the East: the Tartars and Russians brought skins, furs and cloth, silk stuffs and pearls from China. Caravans arrived there from India, which they sent to Peking in ten months. Marsden has given

us a most interesting work, "the travels by Marco Polo," who went on a trading expedition down the Volga to Tartary in 1254, spent a year in Badakshan, crossed to Kobi, and spent 24 years in Tartary.

In modern times the Genoese and Venetians, like the Romans, carried on a caravan trade with India and China. They set out from the shores of Syria and the Black Sea—Egypt being shut on account of the Crusaders; they received their merchandise from India and China by Caffa, Tama and Agazzo in the Mediterranean; a part of it came by Bussora, Tebriz, the Caspian, Armenia, Georgia, and Tana at the mouth of the Don. Another route was by the Indus on camels through Bokhara to the Gihon, then overland to the Caspian, and from Astrakan along the foot of the Caucasus. Tebriz was the great emporium in Persia for the trade of India. The Genoese had a route *via* Redout Kale, Tiflis, and Baku to Ghilan; the Venetian one to Asia lay by the Don and Volga to Astrakan. Venetia and Genoa fell, and the Turkish power gained the ascendant: trade and all civilization in consequence stopped.

*Hindus* were formerly numerous in Astrakan, carrying on trade. From intercourse between them and the Kalmuks has sprung up a half breed—several hundreds in number, superior in energy to their parents, approaching the Caucasian type. De Helle witnessed Brahminical ceremonies there, in which Ganges water was used. Parsees are also in Astrakan, and there are two or three thousand natives of India employed in Bokhara in trade. Ritter, the great German Geographer, published in 1820 a work which shows that colonies of Indian priests departed with the ancient worship of Buddha from Central Asia.

From the year 1476, when the famous Genoese colonies in the Crimea were destroyed, the Black Sea was closed for 300 years by the Turks against the Western Nations; but Russia under Peter began to move South. It was the dream of Peter the Great's whole life to lead commerce back to the track which it followed in the middle ages by the Indus, the Oxus, the Caspian, the Volga, the Don and the Black Sea to Russia and Germany, to have a port in the Black Sea, and to make it a link between the two Continents; and though he was 150 leagues from the Sea, yet when the Caucasians massacred 300 Russian merchants, he, at the head of 40,000 troops, proceeded from Kazan against the Caucasus. And eventually, in 1774, after six campaigns, the Black Sea was thrown open to Russia, France, Austria, and England soon partook in the advantages which gave Russia access to the Mediterranean, and by Odessa brought

the southern provinces of Russia into contact with Europe, while the Danubian Provinces and Austria came into connection with the Caucasus. England carries on a great trade in Trebisond with Persia, *via* Erivan.

Time rapidly hastens on railway communication and international relations. Were Afghanistan and its population of only three millions tranquilised under the Protectorate Government of England and Russia, what is to hinder the renewal of this old line of trade between India and Central Europe? A canal will ere long be made by Russia to connect the Oxus with the Caspian along the water route opened three centuries ago; then, with a rail now in course of formation across the Caucasus, steamers will convey merchandize and travellers up the Danube or to Russia. Already Orenberg makes clothes for the Kabul market, which is supplied with its copper and hardware by Russia.

In 1819, Mouravief when in Khiva had this object in view. He thus wrote:—"If Russia possessed Khiva, the people in the heart of Asia would establish roads for our commerce by Scinde and the Amu Darya as far as Russia. Instead of an advanced post which shut out commerce, Khiva would become a safeguard which would defend it against the attacks of the tribes scattered over Central Asia. This island in the midst of an ocean of sand would become the emporium of Asiatic commerce."

Sir C. Napier, with that sagacious, far-seeing view which characterised him, states: "The North-Western nations of India have a shorter line for mercantile operations with Europe by the Oxus, which will beat the Indus and leave us only the North-Eastern trade. Persia and Russia with the great inland waters, will carry off all the rest."

The cotton of Turkistan is said to be equal to American, and the Russian demand for it is immensely on the increase, as it is indispensable for Russian industry. Central Asian cotton, when the country shall be tranquilised; will in this respect prove to Russia what the American cotton was to England; but "the beneficent beams of European civilization are necessary to dry up the stagnant pool of its miserable social relations. It is robbery, murder and war, but not the barrenness of nature, which convert the shores of the Oxus and Jaxartes into a desert. In Bokhara, but especially Khiva, agriculture is almost exclusively in the hands of slaves, of whom there are in the latter khanat more than 80,000; the plough is considered degrading and is entirely given over to slaves."

Among the settled nations of Central Asia tea is the favorite drink. In Bokhara, the tea booths are the resort of all classes,

as is the case universally, with Central Asiatics. Every man carries with him his little bag of tea, and hours are spent in chit-chat over the tea-table.\*

Trade will be a pacificator of Central Asia, and especially for Russia. Trade and war do not pull together, as we see in the case of France, which, once so military, is less disposed to war, now that she is more of a trading country. This Louis Napoléon knows well, and hence he has done all in his power to turn the nation's energies to commercial pursuits. The Russians are pre-eminently fond of trade,—from peasant to prince; the nobles are engaged extensively in manufactures, and the peasants during the winter make distant tours to carry on a little traffic. They have on the other hand no natural love for fighting; war is not to them glory as with the Frenchman, or fun as with the Irish. Recent accounts from St. Petersburg show that the Russian peasants have in many places successfully “resisted the efforts of the Government to obtain recruits.” The battle of Free Trade is

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\* The following Extract from a recent St. Petersburg journal, conveys important information to India on this subject :—

“Since the conquest of Tashkend, Western China presents an especial interest for Russian commerce. Before the insurrection of the Dzungars, Kashgar and Kulja were the lines of the Tea trade for Western Siberia and Russia, valued at eight million roubles for five thousand tons of Tea. The insurrection, three years ago, has stopped this trade, as well as the exportation of Russian goods, involving a loss to the amount of 50,400,000 roubles, or eight millions sterling. The country has been reduced to great misery. Every article is dear and meat sells at two shillings a pound. The Chinese were stopping all trade and communication in order to starve out the enemy. Russian interests, therefore, require that the insurrection of the Dzungars be suppressed as soon as possible, in order to resume commercial relations with Tashkend. It is expected that the Russian Tea trade, instead of going by Kiachta, will pass directly by Turkistan, the most direct route from the plantations being by Sikagon and Uromtche. A caravan takes fifty days between those two cities. Between Uromtche and Kulja there are five hundred versts traversed in fifteen to twenty days. These teas could be exchanged for Russian cotton and wool, and will be sold not only in Central Asia, but also in all Russia, where they will arrive by the route of Kopal and Semipalatensk by land, and thence by steam from the Irtysch to Tumene, thus avoiding the long and expensive route through Eastern Siberia, which they follow now in coming from Kiachta. A railway is projected between Tumene and Otchansk on the Kama. There is no question that teas coming by this line, will make close competition even at Moscow with teas imported from England. Another route is proposed by steam from Lake Balkash to Kulja. Before the conquest of Central Asia, the trade of Western China was in the hands of Tartars and a few Siberian merchants who were constantly plundered by the Kirghis, but since the commercial routes have been guarded by Military posts and picquets of Cossacks, caravans pass pretty freely along.”

now raging in Russia; the *Gazette de Bourse*, a leading Petersburg paper fights manfully in defence of it; the Government, suffering so terribly in their revenues by smuggling,—which prevails to as great an extent as in Spain,—are likely to adopt a low tariff in order to check it; the victory therefore of free trade is sure at the end of a few years. Serf emancipation by causing an increase of 100 per cent. to the consumption of cotton goods among the peasantry, has given consequently an impulse to foreign trade which, to be successful, must be free.

At a late public banquet in Moscow, M. Tchijof, a Director of the Moscow Bank, though a Protectionist, could not withhold his tribute to “the renowned benefactor of humanity, who “is called Cobden.”

But there can be *little trade as long as Moslem fanaticism holds its ground*. Vambéry\* states respecting Bokhara:—“The Government supported by the Mollahs, declare all “foreign productions contraband, and endeavour to supplant “them in the market, for fear the inhabitants of Turkistan “might become aware of their poverty, and attribute it not to “the natural, but to the social circumstances of the country. “Cottons, handkerchiefs, and cambrics, as is well known, are the “great fore-runners of civilization, the mute apostles of Western “culture, who spread blessings in their path, even though “European arms and military tactics occasionally accompany “their footsteps.”

Vambéry further remarks on another barrier to trade:—“The “recent conquest of the whole Caucasus by the Russians has, “to a great extent, crippled the abominable traffic in slaves “among the Mahomedans of Western Asia. This trade is now “to be found unfettered, unembarrassed, only in Central Asia. “Here is the seat of ancient Asiatic barbarism and ferocity; “thousands every year fall victims to this inhuman trade. What “the Portuguese slave traders are in Central Africa, that are “the Turkomans in Central Asia, the most cruel and least “civilized of nomads; in former days a battery of cannons had “to accompany the caravans for protection. These Turkomans “trade is plunder, and they set out on their forays blessed by the “ministers of their religion. Travelling and trade are in some “places at a standstill owing to this; the victims are chained, “tied to the saddle of the horse, with the feet fastened under “his belly, and are thus hurried without food or shelter across

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\* Sketches of Central Asia.

The desert, with an interlude of blows and curses ; there are regular marts and brokers in Bokhara, where those "slaves are disposed of chiefly for agricultural purposes, the price of cereals being determined by the more or less abundant supply of slaves, as freemen are employed in plundering forays."

Of these Turkomans the great foes to trade, Vambery writes, (*Sketches in Central Asia*, pp. 311):—"Throughout the whole globe hardly can a second nation be found of such a rapacious nature, of such restless spirit and untameable licentiousness as these children of the desert. To rob, to make slaves, is in the eye of the Turkomans an honourable business, by which they have lived for centuries." Vambery, anti-Russian as he is, admits that "in the steppes lying to the north of the Khanats of Bokhara and Khiva,—thanks to the spread of Russian sway—slaves are only found as a luxury in the houses of the rich Beys;" and he expresses his surprise that England, which spent so many thousands in checking the slave trade in African waters, can look on unconcernedly, while the same trade in the middle of Asia lays waste such a country, whose ancient civilization was of profit to Europe itself. The freedom of those States means "anarchy, plunder, and murder."

Respecting this Bokhara, the foe to trade, the best and most recent accounts we have are from the pen of Vambery. He states that all the Mahomedan world look up to Bokhara as "the great pillar of Islam, the only pure fountain of the Mahomedan religion. Even the Turk regards the Bokharans as the only ones preserving in Bokhara the religion of the prophet pure and undefiled, where people repeat their prayers stark naked, lest their clothes might have been defiled without the eye detecting it. In Bokhara and Kokand, unnatural crimes are carried to a frightful extent, the religious teachers consider them no sin, as they allow intoxication by bang; while for tasting a drop of wine in a similar way the penalty is the head being cut off. In the streets of Bokhara itself the men are stopped in the midst of their work by officers to see whether they can repeat their prayers: ignorance is followed by a whipping. Bokhara is the fount of Mahomedan fanaticism to Kabul, India, and Chinese Tartary: neither these nor Constantinople, but Bokhara, is looked up to as the sole guide of the faithful, while Balk is viewed as the Kubbetil, or dome of Islam; both it and Bokhara having succeeded to Bagdad in zeal for the crescent. Timur

“helped to make Bokhara the Rome of Islam, where the Koran regulates all the movements of Government and social life, “and is considered as fine as an hair, as sharp as a sword, and “satisfies all possible wants of life.”

Vambery further points out that *Bokhara is the fount of Moslem bigotry which wells out to India*. He calls on the English Government to attend to it,—but Bokhara is too far from our natural boundary. Is it not a godd thing, then, that the Russians will scotch the Moslem snake? They have had the training of centuries with the Tartars in this point.

Not only trade and Mussulman fanaticism, but also financial reasons incline Russia to a pacific policy towards England in Central Asia. The finances of Russia, like those of India, are in favour of this policy. She has a deficit every year which obliges her Government to resort to home and foreign capitalists for loans, and often with little success, the rate of exchange being frequently 30 per cent against her. Her rouble which is of the nominal value of 4 francs, is scarcely worth more than 3, and has been down in the Austro-Prussian war to 2½. The Government has issued vast quantities of paper money, which have proved sometimes as little valuable as the French assignats. No wonder that many Russian landowners have exported their money under these circumstances, and deposited it in foreign funds. The Government have to spend immense sums on railways, while reforms are expensive; thus since the Polish war the cost of a Russian soldier has been increased five-fold, much having been done to improve his moral and social status; but all this entails heavy expenses, like our own improved sanitary arrangements for the Indian army.

Reform is in Russia advancing with that quiet but giant pace so characteristic of the Slavonic race. This, besides occupying the nation with internal and social improvement, is calculated to draw the sympathies of the Russian people closer towards England, which, since 1832, has hoisted the glorious banner of peace, retrenchment, and reform. Prince Dolgorouki, who in his *Des Reformes en Russie* has touched with no gentle hand on the defects of Russia, recapitulates in a recent brochure, his Letter to Monsieur Bakounine, the reforms that have been accomplished in Russia. He states—“Within the last seven “years, the progress of Russia has been pacific but rapid: it would “be unjust to deny it for here are the reforms of the last years:—

“1.—Emancipation of thirty millions of serfs of both sexes, “with the endowment of a certain portion of land by means of “a debt payable and redeemable by annuities.

“2.—The abolition of corporal punishment.

" 3.—The introduction of public and oral proceedings in the Courts.

" 4.—Introduction of the Jury system.

" 5.—The toleration of Dissenters.

" 6.—Creation of Assemblies of districts and provinces.

" 7.—Army reform, with a large reduction in the years of service.

" 8.—Abolition of the censorship previous to publication, which allows the Journals to discuss social and political questions inadmissible until the last four or five years."

All English travellers and residents admit the general good feeling of the Russians towards Englishmen. Many English merchants have been settled for more than a century at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and all bear record to the kindness they have invariably experienced. Even during the Crimean war, the English were invited to remain in Russia by the Emperor Nicholas, who declared that no harm should be done even to the hair of an Englishman, and at that period the Emperor recorded it in writing : "He appeals to the testimony of all the English settled in Russia, and his Majesty is convinced they will not hesitate to declare that they have always been well satisfied with the treatment they have received in Russia."

As an illustration of the general state of feeling among the enlightened classes, we give the following views expressed last year by the Russian Minister of the Interior, in the official organ, the *Northern Post*. It echoes a sentiment widely responded to through Russia :—

"It is not a community of material interests only that connects Russia with England. Ever since education began to spread more rapidly over Russia, her best men saw in the social institutions of England, in the manners and customs, in the intellectual life of her people, and in her literature and poetry, objects of study, imitation, and emulation. As the latest comers on the field of European civilization, we may, without loss of dignity, confess that our ideas and convictions have become clearer and more solid since we began to set less value on that glitter of cosmopolitan civilization by which we were at first attracted. And since we have directed our attention to the subjects constituting the pride of the English people, our literature—that mission of a nation—has become richer and more independent.

"After the great creations of England had been transported to our own soil, our most gifted poets and writers began to



"vie with the immortal geniuses of England and of Germany. Our Keramsin, the best type of a Russian writer, owes to a great extent the influence which he exercises over Russian society, to his acquaintance with English literature. Among the numerous great works left by our Jansosky, is a translation of the Prisoner of Chillon, which is worthy of being classed with his original productions. Pouschkine's novels, so full of imagination, so varied and original, are founded on Byron's creations. Translations from Shakespeare have given some of our writers more notoriety than they ever would have gained by original works. Some of our best dramas of the great English bard, such as Hamlet, have almost become naturalized on our stage. They have always attracted and still attract crowded audiences; and the reproduction of the great characters of Shakespeare has principally contributed to educate the most marked of our actors. Moore, Walter Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray, if not so popular in Russia as in their own country, are not less appreciated by our educated classes. We feel quite sure if Englishmen would as willingly and conscientiously apply themselves to the study of our country, the bond between us would grow closer, and be supported not only by material interests, but also by the more powerful ties of intellect."

The way in which the English language and literature are spreading in Russia is favorable to a good understanding. Graham in that excellent work "the Progress of Science, Art, and Literature in Russia," writes as an instance of popular taste, that "translations from the best English authors are eagerly read by the lower classes in Russia, and the whole of Shakespeare's plays which were translated by Mr. Ketcha, ran through its first edition in one year."

For these and other reasons, why should an understanding with Russia as to Central Asia be thought visionary\*? Guizot in his Memoirs shows how in 1840, England and France came to one on the Suez and Syrian questions, although encumbered with great difficulties; so did England with America on the Boundary question, as well as on the Trent Case; and we are coming to one on the "Alabama" claims.

We ask, were not the above as difficult as this Central Asia one? We have no national susceptibilities aroused; there is no Luxembourg facing both parties; the immense chains of the Himalayas from the Hindu Kush to Kabul tend to calm men down.

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\* See an interesting book on this subject by the brother of the present Governor of Bombay—The Suez Canal, and the Eastern Question. By W. Fitzgerald; 1867.

Two great nations like England and Russia, which have such serious responsibilities extending over so large a tract of dominion, should not degrade themselves by bribing native agents for information—which is got up to order : they should not secretly plot against each other to the advantage of parties in Kabul who drive a trade with the Indian Press in being penny-a-liners, as well as with frontier officers who, like wild colts, require the curb from their respective Governments.

But a passive attitude of the two great Slavonic and Anglo-Saxon Empires towards one another is not enough,—showing their teeth and growling like fierce dogs. Why not take a leaf out of the book of Alexander the 1st of Russia. His father Paul waged war with England, but on Alexander's coming to the throne his first act was to proffer peace, which was at once accepted by the British Government.

Why should not some overtures for an understanding of this kind be made on our part ? England which so offended Russia by her unwise and fruitless intervention in Poland, might, with great propriety, make a proposal on this basis—England, not to occupy any more territory north of Peshawur, nor Russia south of Balkh. Let the land from the Hindu Kush to Peshawur be neutral ground, and let both parties co-operate to tranquillise the country so as to make it like Egypt—the place of transit for a trade between Central India, Central Asia, Russia, and Central Europe. This will soon be one of the requirements of the day. We have tried the Chiefs by subsidies, and they have failed and must fail, except a Dost Mahommed arise, which is very improbable : let us now try the people by means of free trade and by every measure which gives a stake in the country, let Russia and England unite in support of one chief.

This question is pressing ; Russia and England will soon be practically neighbours from the inevitable force of circumstances. Are we as neighbours to adopt a policy of antagonism, of an armed peace, countermining each other, playing into the hands of the lovers of anarchy and barbarism in India, and of frontier chiefs who wallow in sensuality and cruelty ? We must not forget there is a numerous body of discontented spirits in India who care not a straw for either England or Russia, but whose maxim is, *when rogues fall out, honest men come by their own*. These are vultures who hate all Christian civilisation, whether English or Russian, and like birds of prey, watch for carrion. Are we then to be the unconscious butts of these men, or are we, while *maintaining a strong defensive*

*position on our frontier*, to treat Russia in Asia as we do the French in Europe, Asia, and Africa,—working in the main together, though there may be differences on minor matters, or even squabbles such as even the best neighbours are at times liable to? Would Russia as a neighbour be worse than the fierce Turkoman slave-dealer, or the bigoted, destructive Bokharan?

It is true we shall have a powerful Empire near us, which might stir up the fanatic mountain tribes against us, but it is a game both parties could play at: such a procedure would soon transfer the issues to the Black and Baltic Seas.

Russia on our frontier might lock up English troops in India in case of an European war,—that would be a benefit to India. But European wars now must be short and destructive. Neither party could afford to send their forces to the deserts of Khiva.

Doubtless Russia's being a neighbour would have a disturbing influence in the interior of India; but will it be greater than now? Possibly it may be less. Already rumour has magnified it,—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*; new acquaintance would lead the natives to see what is well known in Europe, that Russia is weak for aggression with a power like England; that like some giants, what she gains in bulk is lost in strength; and that she is now more inclined for trade and colonisation than fighting.

But Russia as a neighbour might help us out of one of our great difficulties in India—Moslem fanaticism, that intense hatred of foreigners so characteristic of the followers of the Koran. We are breaking the head of that in Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad. Russia is doing the same in Bokhara and Samarcand. Last year, the Amir of Bokhara raised the *jehad* or cry of a holy war against the Russians; and in his elation boasted that he intended to drive them back to Moscow, and float the banner of the crescent again over the Kremlin: instead of that he was ignominiously thrashed by General Romanovsky, and had to flee in such haste that he lost the Chalmas in the flight. He liberated the Russian Envoy and traders ignominiously imprisoned in Bokhara; but there is little doubt he will again renew the attempt, until like the king of Delhi, he ends his days far away from his native soil, and his Moslems have to weep gain over the decay of Islam.

While watchful, then, over our neighbour, and collecting authentic information regarding his movements from all sources, as the Indian Government do, let us avoid mean jealousy of all Russian progress, that dog in the manger policy so unworthy of English liberals. England has regarded

with approbation a powerful and united Italy, and the consolidation of Germany; why should she not view the remarks of the King of Prussia as applicable *cæteris paribus* to Russia. "The peaceful object of the German movement is recognized and appreciated by all the Powers of Europe, and the peaceful endeavours of the Rulers are supported by the wishes of the peoples, to whom the *increasing development and amalgamation of spiritual and material interests make peace a necessity.*" France has made extensive conquests in Asia, and has established a magnificent line of steamships—the Messageries Impériales—which form a link between Marseilles and Saigon, having their head-quarters in Calcutta; yet we have no jealousy. Why not exhibit a similar spirit towards Russia?

The present Emperor of the French, in his "Life of Cæsar" (vol. 1, page 163), describing the prosperity of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, centuries before the Christian era, makes the following weighty remarks:—"The remembrance of such greatness inspires a very natural wish, namely, that henceforth the jealousy of the great Powers may no longer prevent the East from shaking off the dust of twenty centuries, and from being born again to life and civilization." Would that more of this feeling were shown on this Central Asia question by some: in England happily, the tone of feeling would sympathise very much with that of Count Gerouski, who, in his interesting book, "Russia and its Peoples," p. 295, gives the following from the Russian stand-point, with reference to the bearings of Russia on Asia:—

"Having re-established the true balance in Europe, the Slavic and Russian current will undoubtedly turn towards Asia. There, in those vast spaces, is the immense field opening for their action. And no other nation or race can fulfil this mission.

"If mankind is to form in the future a harmonious whole, the solitudes of Asia must be stirred up, vivified, and the death-like quiet prevailing there must be broken. Culture and civilization must dispel the atrophy, north as well as south of the Himalaya. To electrify these regions an uninterrupted contact and friction, exchange and excitation, are absolutely necessary.

"The chain must be as mighty and gigantic as is the region to be awakened and remodelled. Those intrusted by nature's laws with this mission ought to be conterminous—ought to stand shoulder to shoulder with the East. This is the case with the Slaves and principally the Russians. The people

"to whom this task is assigned must be in possession of  
 "powerful material resources, and enjoy in full their rights  
 "and faculties. An active mass is to press against an inert  
 "one : such a labour can in no wise be accomplished by scattered  
 "commercial factories, nor even by religious or political mission-  
 "aries ; but only by the concentrated activity of a mighty people.  
 "Whoever observes history with an unprejudiced eye, will dis-  
 "cover this almost incontestible fact, that maritime intercourse,  
 "unless combined with colonization, never brings about an assi-  
 "milation or permanent exchange of ideas between nations.  
 "Ideas are propagated by land : contiguous races, even if differing  
 "in civilization, have a certain similarity of habit and notions,  
 "which, fostered by the facility of contact, in peace or war, and  
 "by other physical circumstances, such, for instance, as navigable  
 "rivers and open plains, act as so many connecting links be-  
 "tween the adjoining races. \* And so are the Russians with all  
 "the Asiatics. Tartary, Thibet, Mongolia, the snowy northern  
 "regions of Asia—deserve as much a humane European civiliz-  
 "ing solicitude as Asia Minor, India, parts of America, or  
 "any other spot whatever on the globe. In justice, these north-  
 "ern regions, less favoured by nature, ought to be compensated  
 "by civilization. The members of the human family scattered  
 "there ought to be protected against the inclemency of the  
 "elements, and wrapped in the folds of sheltering, preserving  
 "culture. Whatever may be at present the black stain on  
 "Russia, neither its government nor its people are labouring  
 "under the inhuman and heinous prejudice against any differ-  
 "ence of race, against any variety of shape or colour in the  
 "human family. Descendants of Calmucks and Tartars count  
 "among the Russian *Knaizia* or Princes ; Pouschkine, the great-  
 "est Russian poet, had African blood in his veins from the mater-  
 "nal side, and spoke of it with pride. Already in contact with  
 "various Asiatic tribes, the Russian does not dispossess them,  
 "either by law or by violence ; the Baschkir of Orenbourg, along  
 "the Ural, is protected by law in the property of gold-yielding  
 "sands, as well as would be any genuine Russian, who, enslaved  
 "himself, treats kindly those whom he subdues, conceding to them  
 "even more rights than he enjoys himself. The Russian neither  
 "exterminates nor transforms into bondsmen, serfs, or slaves,  
 "any conquered people. The change of form, the transition  
 "from despotism to liberty, can neither alter nor endanger the real  
 "destinies of Russia and the Slaves. On the contrary, it will  
 "widen and clear up the horizon, inspire with a fresh vigor,  
 "give a mighty impulse. Some of the works undertaken by

"despotism for its own glorification or interest, will be continued in a new and humane manner."

"Surely," to use the language of the *London Record*, "civilization of the low Russian type cannot but be a happy exchange for the savage anarchy which now prevails. Upon the whole, in spite of many essentially vicious incidents in her system of government, that the countries which are absorbed in the onward march of Russian conquest do benefit, more or less, by their change of masters, it is impossible to deny. Considerable freedom is left to all those who inhabit them upon minor points, and law and order are established after a fashion, which, if it leaves much to be desired, is still considerably in advance of the anarchy which mostly precedes a Russian occupation."

As referred to before, we have maintained a good understanding with France, though we have had such questions as the conquest of Algiers, threatening to turn the Mediterranean into a French lake, and giving us a close and powerful neighbour in Egypt, who contemplates opening out by the Suez Canal a direct road to India for French ships of war, and bringing all the regions bordering on the Red Sea within the sphere of the Great Powers of Europe.

Yet the Anglo-French alliance is an established fact, though the two nations differ widely in their social characteristics, their religious and political views. Saxon and Celt can never be fully welded together; but on the other hand, the Russian people, like the English, are fond of colonisation, of trade, of home-life. Hence the appreciation of our literature is far greater in Russia than in France, as Shakespeare and Dickens are more congenial to the Russian than to the French mind. Dicéy, in his interesting and candid work—"A Month in Russia during the Marriage of the Czarowich"—speaks highly of the courtesy shown by Russians to the English. He says, "So far as I could gather, the Crimean war has left behind it very little rancor against England from Russia; the result was to leave upon Russia a very deep impression of the power of England. From whatever cause the wish proceeds, I cannot doubt that for the present the Russians are extremely desirous to remain on good terms with England, or at any rate to secure her neutrality in the event of war, as a matter of policy as well as feeling. They wish to stand well with England more than with any other Power, I cannot doubt."

What possible harm, then, could be done by England adopting towards Russia the principle she has recognized with regard to other States, of discussing in a calm and friendly way between the two cabinets the position of affairs in Central Asia, so that neither

party, should be at the mercy of a bureaucracy or of frontier agents, who meddle and muddle, and keep their respective Governments in perpetual hot water? Now is the time, when we have a change of men in office, whose conciliatory tone is so admirably adapted for such a move, while the Palmerstonian policy of bullying and of sacrificing everything to prolong the day of the sick man is becoming effete.

Lord John Russell is happily not now in office, and we are likely to have statesmen of the Gladstone school who are disposed to say, It is not for England who has done so much south of the Himalayas to look askance on a fellow-labourer north of the Himalayas.

A friendly conference is surely better for this than allowing hostile passions to be engaged, and waking up national prejudices. If there be any case in which a calm consideration may be of use, surely it is in this. We thus avoid the danger of being left in the hands of frontier agents and politicals who love to fish in troubled waters. It is better to have the question discussed openly between the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg, than for both parties to resort to the mean skulking mode of counteracting each other by hiring native agents. Surely, the accomplishment of this understanding is not more difficult than many changes we have seen,—France under a Napoléon a cordial ally of England; Austria, once the incarnation of legitimacy, sympathising with the American abolition of slavery; Italy a united country by the aid of France; Russia becoming a liberal country, with warm sympathies for democratic America; and a Conservative ministry in England, granting household suffrage.

The base of an understanding we conceive either to be the neutralization of Afghanistan, or placing the country under the joint-protection of England and Russia. A similar policy has been adopted towards Belgium, and we trust one day will be towards Constantinople. We have had, as in the very difficult case of the Suez Canal and of Syria, proposals from Monsieur Thiers and Prince Metternich to neutralize them, which has been done. The neutralization of Luxemburg saved Europe from a fearful war. Both countries have more territory than they can well manage; both require peace for consolidation and internal improvement; and it is difficult to say to which a war would prove more injurious, not only financially, but also by stirring up the disaffected on both sides,—Poles and Fenians, Turkomans and Afreedies.

And let this not be forgotten, that while both Empires may be negotiating, the fate of Europe may depend on Louis Napoléon's life. His decease, which cannot be far distant, may bring about

complications which may require the combination of Prussia, Russia, and England to prevent the volcanic elements of France, kept by the Emperor under repression, from boiling over. No time is more favourable, then, than the present for a proposal. The Emperor and people of Russia are absorbed in internal reform; they have gone sufficiently far into Central Asia to see that the sword alone cannot gain them influence, and that to develop trade they must co-operate with England. Russian merchants can see as well as English ones, that a warlike policy is the death-bed of commerce.

One great obstacle hitherto to an understanding with Russia has been the difference of views on the question of Turkey. There may arise complications on that, but they would be settled in Europe: the rocks and hills of Afghanistan, in view of an Indian invasion, would be too tedious and too expensive in these days of quick action. Besides, an united Italy and a strong Germany would have their action in this question. Austria with Hungary expresses by its Press and Government, a watchful and jealous feeling towards Russia, and may serve as a barrier and counterpoise to her in Central Europe and in the Danubian Provinces. The Austrian Empire must compensate herself for the loss of her German Provinces, by extension towards the East and in the direction of Constantinople; thus carrying out the policy of Talleyrand, which is the traditional one of France,—to afford scope to Austria by giving her the valley of the Danube down to the Black Sea, thus serving as a bulwark against Russia's advance on Constantinople. But a better plan is likely to be adopted by the Five Powers:—keeping the Turk in Europe, but drawing his fangs, allowing the fullest development to Christian civilisation, rendering him ultimately what the Great Mogul became in Delhi, a mere political puppet, or, in the language of Lamartine, “encamped in Europe.”

Every year that this Eastern question is postponed makes it more favourable for a pacific solution. Russia's whole energies and finances are now tasked to the uttermost in carrying out her great scheme of railways and internal reforms, and these will give greater power to the people, who are averse to war. The cry of the people every where is for railroads and common roads; it will take ten years at least before Russia has her Siberian lines complete, and in the interim peace and its results will have her triumphs. The German party in Russia, now on the decline, were the aggressive party, who meddled and muddled with other States.

The treatment of Poland by Russia in former days, was another source of misunderstanding. The misfortunes of Poland



are greatly to be deplored, and English sympathy has flowed much in the channel of the author of the "Pleasures of Hope." The past however is sealed: as to the future, Poland is now incorporated with Russia, and the Polish Repealers, like the Irish Fenians, will have to acquiesce in the policy of the Marquis Walepolski, a leading Pole himself,—Poland to become a province of Russia, and to have its full share in the administration of the Russian Empire, as the Scotch have theirs in the British. The sentiments uttered by G. Duff, M. P., at a late meeting in Scotland, express the riper views of English opinion: "The possession of the Western Provinces was essential to Russia, and she can no more allow Wilna to be in the hands of an enemy, than we can allow Dublin." Monsieur Tourgueneuf, a leading Russian liberal, who was Secretary to the Emperor Alexander the 1st, and was an exile during Nicholas's time on account of his liberal opinions, advocates in his excellent work, "*La Russie et les Russes*," "that Russia and Poland, which it has been found impossible to weld together under a despotism, might be bound to each other by a common constitution, and a common parliament."\*

Another obstacle to an understanding may be the death of the Czar, which may alter things in Russia, and give it an Emperor with the tendencies of Nicholas. That is possible: however, the system of Nicholas joined two measures together—despotism at home, aggression abroad; but the abolition of Serfdom has not only destroyed the feudal power of the nobility, which propped up the autocracy and war, but it has given an immense impulse to the democratic element which is cropping up constantly in the new Provincial Assemblies. A new Czar with despotic tendencies would have not only to subdue this element, but also to encounter the determined hostility of the nobility, who are anxiously longing for a House of Commons to ventilate their views on public topics. The present Czar has made many concessions of a liberal kind, which his successor, even if so inclined, would find it impossible to recall, except at the risk of a revolution in which he would have neither the nobles nor peasants on his side: and the *tchinovnick*, or bureaucracy, would be a poor prop in the day of civil war.

While advocating, as in the preceding pages, a good understanding with Russia in Central Asia, as well as the working in with her plans of opening out a trade between Central Europe, Russia, and India *via* Central Asia, we still hold that measures

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\* See Edward's "Private History of the Polish War" for an accurate and impartial view of the whole subject.

of defence are urgently necessary ; and the Government of Sir John Lawrence is quite alive to these, and is taking steps in a quiet way towards carrying them out. Measures of defence in India will keep the military party in Russia in check, as well as give confidence to loyal subjects in India. As measures for external and internal defence, the following plans are admitted to be necessary ; and to carry them out cannot certainly be called a masterly inactivity, but will involve the highest energy and activity.

1st.—*The Euphrates Railway* which, besides saving half the time now occupied between England and India, and rendering England independent of the Suez route and its French complications, would enable England to throw reinforcements into the Punjab in 15 days, and would make British influence more felt in Persia and Central Asia, as well as in Turkey.

This rail would outflank Russia on the Persian side. The political importance of it in this respect to England has been recognised fully by recent St. Petersburg Journals, which see in it a counterpoise to their influence in Central Asia,—a regular counter-check ; whereas the occupation of Herat with the same object, as proposed by Sir H. Rawlinson, would involve an annual outlay of more than three millions of the hard earnings of the people of India, and would be sure to lead to further annexations with their consequent revolts. This Euphrates line, besides its uses for defensive purposes, would be a gain to humanity itself, and a mighty engine in diffusing civilisation, and breaking up stagnation in countries once the cradle of the human race.

2. *Railways* between Lahore and Peshawar, Multan and Kurachi, Baroda and Agra, Hyderabad and Bombay : the former would enable troops to be massed very speedily on the frontiers, besides securing internal tranquillity.

3. *The restoration of the local army.* This was abolished through Horse Guard and Court influence : its restoration is urgently called for as absolutely necessary to enable us to hold our ground in India. The Queen's army, with the alleged insolence of many of its officers and men to the native population, is sowing undying hate among the natives against our rule. They do not, and cannot, forget the savage justice of British bayonets in the mutiny, nor the phrase "a Cawnpore dinner," i. e., three inches of cold steel in the quivering flesh of a sepoy. The mutiny may have shown physical force, but the Queen's troops blasted England's long standing glory in her humanity and justice. The treatment of the native population by Queen's troops is a subject that deserves serious

enquiry, if the natives can be got to come forward with their numerous complaints.

4. *The removal of the seat of the Imperial Government from Calcutta* is called for, not only on sanitary and other grounds,—Calcutta now being thrown back by Bombay in the line of communication,—but also as a means of defending the Empire. On our North-West frontiers lie the materials of combustion, and the Government ought to be located where they could be nigher the scene of action than Calcutta is, and where *personal* intercourse with influential natives would tell more on the Empire at large. Bengal, as all history testifies, is the land of the men who wield the pen, not of men of action, or of the men who influence India. Calcutta, with its cockney population, no more represents India, than Bologne does France, or Liverpool England.

Arnold, in proposing Puna as the future capital of India, describes it thus: "Admirably seated on the wide plain watered by the Muta and the Mula, full of fine old palaces and frescoed halls, with the superb temple of Parbati on the hills overlooking it, crowded in its hey-day with learned Brahmins and warlike Mahrattas, the city was queen among Hindu cities in the great times of Nana Furnese and Baje Rao, and is destined to a greater history yet. The fair city of the Pasha, with its delightful climate and rich surrounding country, with our natural capital linked with all India by roads, railways, and, telegraphic wires, and with Bombay by the grandest and boldest piece of engineering in the world, which conducts the railway down the slope of the Syhadri Mountains, will make a new Athens of Puna in years to come, with Bombay for its Piræus, and the great Indian Peninsula Line for its long wall." Should the Indian Government be located there in the hot weather, in the cold season its Members could visit the various parts of the country, and by *personal observation* better understand its wants and its people.

It has been said of the Government of India located at Simla, that it is out of India. We are no advocates of Simla as a *permanent* location of Government. We believe, however, it is the one best situated, *until* the rail opens out to the Western Presidency. Simla is too far from the sea, and too much removed from native and enlightened English opinion, we admit; but it is far more healthy than Calcutta, and the officials, can do far more work there during the hot and rainy seasons. They are free from the dissipation of a metropolis; their brain is cool; and it must be remembered that wherever the heads of the

Imperial Government are placed, their work is with documents not with men, and consists mainly of cases of reference from the various Presidencies.

5. Among the internal defences of the Empire, the *condition of the masses*, both educationally and socially, calls for the serious action of the Supreme Government. They are ignorant, and, therefore, bazar reports about Russia gain credence amongst them. We know a case that occurred sometime ago in the Agra Presidency, where, at a fair, some foreigners being seen, the cry arose, "The Russians are coming": and forthwith a general flight took place. It would be easy to fill pages of this *Review* with anecdotes of native views on Russia, current in the bazar. Thus, when the gates of Delhi were left open sometime ago at night, the report flew about, that it was to let the Russians in; and that English and Russians were to combine to put down the Mahomedan religion. These *popular panics* arising from *popular ignorance*, can be met only by *popular enlightenment*: the sun of knowledge will chase the fogs of misconception away.\*

6. The right divine of kings is repudiated, and the view is now pretty generally held, that no native prince or state in India has any right to rule independently of the contentment of the mass of the people. A throne or realm is not any one's personal property: *people, and not merely princes*, is to be our motto;—not the right of Rajahs who are aphrodisiacs. "We are making a people in India where hitherto there have been a hundred tribes but no people; wherefore the divine right of kings to govern villainously, or the dignities of a landed aristocracy, who grind the ryots, must not block our road: we are introducing in India an idea unknown to the East, as it was unknown to Europe before commerce and the Italian cities taught it the idea of people's rights." This is the ground on which we hail the administration of Oude as a great boon contrasted with the native dynasty, whose administration was fraught with suffering to the millions. We believe, however, in a right divine,

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\* Lord Stanley showed the political importance of popular opinion in the House of Commons, when he stated, "As a proof how fast and how far intelligence travels among the (Indian) population; the news of the great disaster in Cabul was well known in all the native bazars as soon as it reached the Indian authorities: and I believe the conception the sepoys had come to entertain of their own power, without which the mutiny would not have taken place, was founded to a great extent on rumours, no doubt exaggerated and distorted, of what was said in England, as to what was called the break-down of the Military system in the Crimean war."

not of kings, but of the people to a good government, and that all shall be regulated on this principle—the greatest good of the greatest number.

There are parties whose opinion is entitled to respect, who believe neither in the possibility of a good understanding with Russia, nor in any measures of mere internal or frontier defences. They contend that we must have out-posts and garrisons in Cabul and Herat; they look on the policy of non-intervention as impracticable; they charge it with lowering us in the eyes of the natives, who regard England as weak because she does not send troops to Cabul. Of course there is one class of natives who long to see England and Russia at daggers drawn, like the dog in the Russian fable who set two dogs to fight about a bone which he *meanwhile* carried away. "England's extremity would be their opportunity." Would not a policy of military intervention be just playing into their hands, opening out the door again for predatory bands, or the restoration of Mahratta anarchy? There is another class of natives—men of intelligence, leaders of native opinion, but who are profoundly ignorant of Russia, and of the modern policy of non-intervention. They are chiefly Bengalees who may hound us on, but would grow pale at the sight of blood; like the Bengalees in Lord Hardinge's camp in the Sikh war, who, when the troops were about to march to the field, sent in a petition to his Lordship, to the following effect: "as your Excellency knows, we Bengalees are of a cowardly nature; we therefore hope you will allow us to move to the rear, beyond the reach of shot." To such as these, and the natives at large, the policy of England ought to be explained, that we hold India as a steward on a long lease, a regent while the sovereign people are still in their infancy and minority; that though we have been guilty, we now feel, in former times, yet, it is not right to squander the funds sacred to internal improvement, on distant wars beyond our frontiers. Our motto for natives must be that expressed lately in the *Pall Mall Gazette*: "We have done with native barriers, and we cannot possibly check the Russian advance, even if we would. All we have now to do is to make the best of it, and to fulfil our duty towards the natives of India as we are now fulfilling it." We must let them know that it is not want of courage which keeps us back, but a regard to principle; and that we who have held our own against such immense odds in the mutiny, do not quail at frontier threatenings. Let these natives know that, though non-intervention may not be popular in India in military quarters, yet it is the fixed policy of England,

and it will be so more than ever under the coming men—Gladstone and Bright. The development of Indian resources is identified with it. As the *Economist* remarks: "While we cannot afford to keep the peasants of Orissa alive, we certainly do not want any responsibilities for the shepherds of Kashgar." The *Pioneer*, an excellent Indian paper, embodies a large amount of English public opinion when it states on this subject: "It is certain that by interfering with the march of Russia through Central Asia, we shall create the necessity of permanently increasing the English troops under the Government of India. It is by no means certain that Russia, if she is left undisturbed until she reaches our Indian frontiers, will prove a worse neighbour than those she will take the place of, and it is very uncertain whether, if left unmolested, she will reach the frontier."

Recurring again to this Intervention Policy proposed in order to checkmate Russia, which advocates having European garrisons in Cabul or Herat,—this implies the building of forts and barracks, the maintaining a strong garrison for an emergency to keep down a rising, and the keeping up of the communication, all of which must lead to the occupation of those countries, to the consequent embitterment of the natives against us, and to their welcoming the foreigners. We should have another Algiers with as little profit, except to brevet hunters; and, like the dog in the fable, in catching at the shadow, should lose the substance. In order to avoid an uncertain future evil, we should be incurring a present one by augmenting the already too heavy taxation of India, and with it increasing that burning discontent which is already so rife. Natives would see in it the Annexation Policy revived, and would themselves have to pay heavily for a line of policy they take no interest in. They already feel the calls on India expensive, as well as those for the Sultan's dinner or the Abyssinian expedition. Our name still stinks in Afghanistan, and the treatment of the Afghan women by the English is still vivid in the recollection of the people. In 1857, it was with the greatest difficulty the Afghan nation was prevented pouring down the passes to join the sepoys in the extermination of the English. Had they come down, our doom might have been sealed for a time. In Afghanistan, the land of anarchy, every chief aims at supremacy: England by selecting one, as a matter of course makes the others bitter enemies,—foci of intrigue against the English. For full information on this subject we refer to the able article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1857, on the "Foreign Policy of Sir John Lawrence,"

in which authentic information is given, evidently from Government official sources, showing the evils that would be entailed by sending troops or agents into a land where anarchy is the rule, and robbery and border fights the occupation of these Caucasian children of the mist, who cannot gain food enough for their subsistence, but are delighted with a Guerilla warfare. This made Sir C. Napier declare that as to holding Afghanistan, it would be folly only equalling the attempt to conquer it.

Kay's History of the Afghan War is well worth studying on this question ; but as that campaign is now nearly forgotten, we shall quote a brief notice of the Afghan Campaign from Arnold's work on Lord Dalhousie's Policy. It reads a warning which applies to the present time :

"The ministry supposed Russia was planning dangerous advances on our frontier, and they resolved to anticipate an attack, which to await would have been to baffle ; Lords Clanricarde and Durham, the Ambassadors at St. Petersburg, protested in vain against this Russophobia. Lord Palmerston falsified Burnes' despatches to promote his views ; a sovereign of English selection was set up in Cabul ; we know the result and loss of 60,000 camels and 11 millions sterling, and that reputation of invincibility which, in the irrepressible East, had become a bulwark to our fortunate power. 50,000 men had to be added to the army, to occupy a country of which the Khan of Khelat said—' You may take Kandahar, Ghizni, and even Cabul, but you cannot conquer the snows, and when they fall you will neither be able to maintain your army nor to withdraw it.' The English did gain Kandahar and Cabul, but on what tenure ? In 14 months they had 33 engagements with Afghan troops, and 13 times without profit ; the puppet sovereign backed by the British bayonets, soon became unpopular *increased by the fact of the English supporting him, and the Afghans made overtures to the Czar—the very thing our entering Cabul was designed to prevent.* Meanwhile all, according to military men, seemed quiet : Dost Mahomed was a prisoner in Calcutta, and the English minister declared that Afghanistan was as quiet as Wales. He had scarcely said the word when the Ghilzi hill tribes rose, Burnes, the agent, was killed, and Sir W. Maonaghten's grey head was kicked as a foot-ball by Afghan soldiers. The soldiers made a retreat equalling in horrors that from Moscow : the snows, hunger, and the Afghan soon reduced the remnant to one horseman. The feeling of the Afghans was shown by the oath they took, that of all the English force but one man should pass the defile alive, and that he should henceforth sit at its entrance lopped into a ghastly trunk, and bearing on his breast the inscription : ' The Feringgies came to Cabul a lakh of men, and this is what is left of the Feringgies.' The puppet king was assassinated, and Dost Mahomed again mounted the *gudhi* under a proclamation, that, British principle and policy forbid us to thrust a ruler on a reluctant people. English prestige was damaged, and the sepoy were taught a lesson about English weakness, which they profited by in the mutiny. Cabul showed them to be vulnerable, and it was apparent subsequently, from the results of the Sikh war, that the Khalsa army would never have crossed the Sutlej, if the English name had never been humbled in Afghanistan. In 1809, Runjeet

“ did not dare to brave the power which Lall Sing bearded in 1845. Let the memorable word of Burnes never be forgotten, the man who counselled the move into Afghanistan in 1839. Yet in his last days, reviewing the past, he declared ‘ that man to be an enemy to his country, who recommended a soldier to be stationed west of the Indus.’ Little did Burnes then think that within a short time the English army would be pursued to the Khyber Pass by infuriated Afghans.”

It may be said we would not repeat in Afghanistan this state of things; but our unpreparedness in the mutiny and the Crimean war did not show this: we may take another nap. With respect to the despatch of English diplomatic agents to Central Asia, though they might collect information and be useful as a check, who can guarantee their safety among semi-barbarous chiefs and wild fanatics, who hate the Feringhee from their very soul? We know that on the murder of Stoddart and Connolly, our Envoys in Bokhara, the impossibility of the English Government avenging their death, lowered English prestige, not only there but in India. Even during the mutiny Dost Mahomed, who was subsidised by England with the sum of £120,000 a year, yet would not receive an envoy: he dared not; he could not be security for his safety. Col. Lumsden was sent to Candahar, but he was kept there in close confinement under strict surveillance, and was repeatedly fired at. But with the cost of the Abyssinian expedition hanging over them, we think the English public will be in no haste to send Consuls or Agents to remote countries, where they cannot be protected\*; and particularly as Sir John Lawrence's Government is quite alive to the necessity of early and accurate information, and has adopted means for securing it, they are not dependent on bazar reports, or on native agents, who may be panic struck, or crammed by native chiefs to furnish alarming statements, such as is the case now in Kabul.

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\* Mr. Gladstone stated at a meeting lately in reference to the Abyssinian question, a policy which statesmen of all shades of politics now agree on: “ If there was a special lesson to be learnt from the difficulty (the Abyssinian) in which we now found ourselves, he thought it was this— that we should be more wary and more shy than we had hitherto been, in establishing diplomatic relations with countries and sovereigns on whose civilization reliance could not be placed to the degree which is necessary to give reasonable assurance of the stability and safety of those relations. It was the tendency of commerce—a happy and beneficial tendency— never to be content with its present conquests, so long as there were new realms to be subdued. He did not presume to advocate the checking of that tendency, but it required to be watched when it assumed the character, prematurely to force the Government of England, through the exercise possibly, of active though partial influences, into the contraction of engagements of this character, which, when once formed, we found it impossible either to sustain with safety or to recede from with honour.”



To the policy advocated in this article, of non-intervention united with a strong defence of India, and cultivating a good understanding with Russia, it has been objected—that it is cowardly, unpatriotic, and inactive amid urgent events. We reply, bravery is not synonymous with rashness. The courage of defence is superior to that of an aggressive spirit, which would plunge a body of brave troops into all the difficulties of a poor, barren, and warlike country, cut off from their Indian resources, and would prove a heavy drain on the revenues of India to the intense disgust of the natives, while our garrison in Cabul would be most hateful.

It may be alleged, it is not patriotic to speak well at all of Russia: we certainly think we can love our own country without hating another. The old idea of natural enemies is now scouted, and certainly is not applicable to Russia in her new phase. England has seen through the spectacles of Polish writers abundantly, the dark side of Russia. Let us thank God that with all her despotism there are bright spots and the dawn of a glorious day, and like the British volunteers, let our motto be defence not defiance. Let us, while loving our country, look not with the eye of that green monster—jealousy, on other lands, as was the style last century towards France, when Frenchmen were regarded by John Bull as pariahs, feeders on frogs, to be met with only at the point of the sword. We have heard natives remark, How is it Englishmen generally have nothing good to say of Russia? are they so afraid that they dread the very name?

This policy has been stigmatised as wanting in vigour. If by vigour be meant *military* vigour, the charge is just; but we fancy the tax-payers of England who enjoy the sweets of this vigour in a national debt of £800,000,000, contracted in carrying out a policy of intervention with France and all other countries, have had *satis superque* of this vigour,—“reaping a minimum of glory and profit at a maximum of cost; a double peerage on one side of the scale, a double pauperism on the other.” We here in India had to pay 19 millions sterling for the Afghan Campaign, the work of would-be active politicians who disgraced us again in the Bhootan war.

But this policy is not an *inactive* one. As we shall show, in various points it involves not only stupendous Railway undertakings such as that of the Euphrates Valley and the speedy completion of our India lines, but it implies the recasting of our whole internal Government; the setting our house in order by a policy which secures the contentment of the millions of India. These military expeditions involving increased taxation can never do. Taxation is the test of our rule.

Justice has been called the cheap defence of nations, and particularly in the present day when the millions are awaking to a sense of their rights and their strength ; but how much labor does it require to clear the Indian Augean stable in this respect, though we have a Viceroy who is both a man of the people and a friend of the people. That was a glorious sentence expressed lately by Lord Cranborne in a similar spirit, in the House of Commons : " Whatever treaties or engagements may be entered into in India, the welfare of the people of India must override them all."

The interests of the millions of peasants and working men must have the precedence over those of squires and planters. America has overthrown the great slave-holding aristocracy ; Russia has swept away a serf-supporting aristocracy : surely India is not to hold the Bourbon-theory that the country is to be governed in the selfish interest of Native Princes or Landholders generally, opposed to that of the people whom they regard as the orange to be sucked. Princes or people,—which do you prefer ? is rising as the great question. The princes of India can never be sincerely friendly to British rule based, as it is, on the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number.\*

Let us follow the example of the Punjab, that glorious model of British rule, and for this reason—that, when some proposed Duleep Sing to be the ruler, the answer was, " England cannot permit itself to be turned aside from fulfilling the duty which it owes to the security and prosperity of millions of

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\* On this latter subject we would call serious attention to the warning note of Arnold in his able work on the Dalhousie Administration :—  
 " Alas ! our statesmen shut their eyes to a greater peril than that which, in spite of warnings at Umritsur, Govindghur and Barrackpore, escaped Lord Dalhousie's keen eyes. All present India, except where cotton is grown, is in the condition of the plebeians at the time of the secession, *adscripti glebæ* bound hand and foot, in debt to village usurers ; and our Courts are so constituted as to give unlimited facility to the blood sucking usurers and shrofs, and no countenance whatever to his victim. Some day there will be a crash and a *mons sacer* in India from which no fable of the belly and the members in the mouth of a Menenius Agrippa of the Legislative Council will win the millions of India back ; and when the people despair of us, the end of our time will have come ; for hitherto we have only contended with three forces, that of the native dynasties, that of the faith and pride of fading Islam, and that of the native soldiery whom we have drilled and fed to fight us. In the Mutiny the first act of the few country people who joined it was to destroy the books and accounts of the Mahajuns. By Post Office Savings Banks, by *Monts de piété*, by any adequate scheme that can be devised, the people of India should be taken out of the hands of these slow destroyers."

"British subjects by a feeling of misplaced and mistimed compassion for the fate of a child."

It will require no ordinary amount of activity not only to carry out the above, but also to adopt a just and conciliatory policy towards the *Mahomedans*. They are the Fenians of India; and a mere policy of suppression will not keep them down. The policy of Bengal—of leaving its millions to mental and physical starvation—will not be endured by them. It is time to turn from the ignorant content with Universities and their book-crammed students, "books in breeches," to the trampled down millions. We must elevate the latter to that position where they can sympathise with us and our regime. The Wahabee and other secret confraternities are scattered throughout India, detesting with their whole heart the *Feringhee* rule so hostile to their religion; and we know what a serious matter the Patna conspiracy was. As was remarked in the *Edinburgh Review* :—

"The Umbeyla campaign of 1863 cost the army 847 men killed and wounded, to subdue a small band of marauding fanatics on our far north-west frontiers; and it has since been conclusively established that the head centres of the band were Wahabee the priests of Patna, men of irreproachable respectability, who had been accounted, up to the moment of their detection, among the most inoffensive citizens that the numerous warlike neighbourhood of Calcutta could produce."

The Mussulmans of India, thirty millions in number, proud and poor as Spanish nobles, are likely to prove a thorn in the side of the English, unless steps be taken to retrieve that fatal and perilous policy towards them which the Government are adopting, of excluding them from all high offices, and dooming them to ignorance and social degradation unless they submit to the cram system of English education which is now in vogue. Why should we try the experiment on Indian soil which has so signally failed in Ireland, of debarring a large population from a share in our administration, unless they seek it through the narrow gates of a difficult and foreign language? On the other hand the Government, while denying knowledge to the millions, by the monopoly of knowledge given to a highly educated class, is raising up native agents many of whose expectations of Government employ must be sorely disappointed, and who, when frustrated, will feel intensely bitter against British ascendancy, to which they will attribute their non-success. They forget that ruling India for the Indians does not imply the placing Natives at the head of departments. In India as in

Russia, foreigners have rendered the greatest service. Scotchmen and Germans have acted a most important part in the internal administration of Russia : and how few Natives in India could have done the work that a Thomson, a Munroe, a Sleeman effected ?

As for Young Bengal, he thinks he is qualified any day to be the ruler of the State, and even to take the place of the Lieutenant-Governor, though he cannot manage the simple Municipal matters of Calcutta.

Our Empire in India is, in one sense, the Empire of opinion resting on prestige—that feeling which the first Napoléon knew so well how to utilise. Now, it is clear, one of the difficulties we have to contend with, is the exaggerated views the Natives have of the power and designs of Russia : with them it is *omne ignotum pro magnifico* ; they are utterly unacquainted with the financial difficulties of Russia, with the immense extent of her Empire, with her new condition ; they are perfectly ignorant of the frontier geography and policy, hence they are liable to panics and to the intrigues of any schemers who pander to their ignorance.

The way in which some Englishmen have written of Russia, has led natives to fancy that the English were in a funk. Many have secretly chuckled over the idea of the British lion quailing before the growl of the bear ; while others look forward to the day when both combatants exhausting themselves, the Natives may have a chance. They retain a vivid remembrance of the Mutiny panic of Calcutta, when many of the English fled to the ships.

The Government should let the natives see that while quite aware of the movements of Russia in Central Asia, their “masterly inactivity” is prompted by the consideration that it is not for England, who is herself so usefully engaged in developing commerce and spreading civilization, to look with a jealous eye on Russia entering on the same career, even though, as in other countries, political motives may enter in. We want a fight with Russia—but on the arena of commerce and social elevation, from which no widows’ cries, or orphans’ wrongs will arise.

This policy of non-intervention adopted by Sir John Lawrence is not only a really active one, but it has also received the sanction of public opinion in England, and is winning its way among the leading states of Europe. This policy is based on what Dolfus of Mulhausen, the Cobden of France, lately enunciated : “The people’s progress and the well being of all “classes are the best of fortresses.” Human life is now to be regarded as something sacred, and not a thing to be thrown

away by hundreds of thousands. England will certainly not tolerate any attempts on the part of Russia that might endanger her Eastern Empire, either directly or indirectly ; she has not only her prestige connected with her present position, but also her mission as the great Protecting Power to train the Native mind gradually to discharge the duties of self-government. Russia herself, as she candidly admits, has too much on her hand to take her place, and is herself centuries behind England. The whole force therefore of the British lion would be exerted both in Europe and Asia to defend her position in the East, and Russia would soon feel to her cost both in the Black and Baltic Sea, what the British lion could do when aroused. As the *Edinburgh Review* remarks : " Any attempt of Russia on our frontier would be met by a *chevaux de frise* of bayonets wielded by the same men who gave her a taste of their quality not long ago at Alma and Inkermann, and who this time would be fighting on their own ground and with the perfection of military appliances at their command."

But while maintaining strong defensive measures, why should we take a leap in the dark, and start on a policy of irritation which must end in war awaiting us not only in India but also in America ? We think the advocates of intervention are entitled to respect, and we think good has come from their discussion in calling attention to a country like Russia, interesting in so many points of view, as well as keeping public watchfulness fixed on our internal and external defences ; but besides the objection to intervention as leading ultimately to the annexation of Afghanistan, a country as poor and warlike as the Highlands of Scotland were formerly ; we ask, having once left our Himalayan natural boundaries, where are we to stop ? Nowhere, until, as has been said, the Cossack and the sepoy meet on the banks of the Oxus. But as the advocates of intervention calmly see and candidly admit, intervention has at the end, in its sternest form—war.

Intervention, or what is equivalent to it, an armed peace, means the suspension of Public Works, of education and social progress in India, increased taxation, the making two Christian powers the laughing-stock of the Moslems of India, of all who, like the petrel, love the storm. It would revive the cry among the natives, You have appropriated our revenue to give a dinner to the Sultan ; to pay a portion of your Abyssinian expenses ; and now you want millions from us to defend your conquests :—you take our country by force and fraud, and now you tax us for your disputes with your fellow-robbet, Russia. In the present embittered condition of the mass of natives on account of the pressure of taxation, and of the upper and educated classes, owing to their social position, how terrible would

any reverse to England's arms in Central Asia prove to India,—a retreat in a hostile country, from which there would be little hope of sending relief?

It is easy for military men and their partisans to talk of war with Russia; but what does it mean? Throwing back civilization and social progress in both countries for many years. It would truly be, as was said of a war between England and America, "a blasphemy against the common religion of the two people; a catastrophe without possible compensation." It would certainly aggravate the difficulties of our position in India; suspend all sanitary, and educational reforms; and the natives would soon see that with taxes to propitiate the Moloch of war, military annexation along with military ideas would be revived. War with Russia means that two great nations, leaders in the civilization of the world—one ruling over the one-seventh of the surface of the globe, and the other over one-fifth of its population—should squander their resources in contesting a soil occupied by half savages. In order to ward off some evil in the remote future, it would lead to constant misrepresentations on both sides; to each caricaturing the other to the infinite delight of Natives and Mahomedans, who would scoffingly say—How is Christianity a religion of love and a fraternity of nations? Count Orloff, a Russian Prince, who has taken deep interest in the question of bringing round a friendly intercourse between the Russian and the English Churches, expresses a sentiment on this subject which is finding more and more an echo in the minds of thoughtful men; that, "not only Russian and English interests might become identical in the East, but that the religious interests of the whole world might become so, for universal peace and the benefit of mankind." A war with Russia would very probably find America on the side of Russia; both countries, by their immeasurable extent, inexhaustible resources and peculiar population, stand by themselves apart from the kingdoms of Europe. America expressed the strongest sympathy with Russia in her reforms, and Americans, whenever they have gone to Russia, have been fêted officials. On the other hand, the Americans have a lively recollection of the efforts made by England to break up their empire, and of her undisguised sympathy with the slave power; while they met with the cordial sympathy of Russia. The Russian Press calculates that in case of a rupture, an American fleet would aid them in the Black Sea.

Let us view the other side of the shield. We repeat again, that the friends of a non-intervention policy do not advocate apathy regarding Russia's movements. One of the latest, G.

Duff, M. P., in his "Studies of European Politics," marks out in this respect a policy which is, we believe, substantially that of the Government of India :—

"Far from neglecting the advance of Russia towards the south, we think we should watch it with the greatest possible attention ; but this should be done in a friendly, not in a hostile spirit ; the ultimate object being, as we have elsewhere said, to arrive at a mutual understanding in Asia—an understanding which may, before our frontiers, still separated by enormous distances, shall touch each other, be so close as to lead us to feel that each other's neighbourhood is a guarantee against the insurrectionary tendencies of the Mussulman populations in our respective dominions. The worst forms of fanaticism which we have to dread in India, cannot well, be more formidable than the peculiarly odious type which the religion of the Prophet has assumed in Turkistan." "The author of the able article in the *Edinburgh Review*, on the foreign policy of Sir John Lawrence, expresses a similar sentiment that meets with many a response in England, India, and Russia :—"How many a blunder Russia no less than England might be saved, if, on the common ground of Central Asia, the political intention of either party were more clearly understood by the other." The only way to meet this is by a better acquaintance not only on the part of Governments, but of the people, so that by the co-operation of England and Russia as neighbours, the turbulent could be put down ; for they could not play off one against the other, and their country being made a place of trade between India, Central Asia, Russia, and Central Europe—like the Arabs of the Egyptian desert—they would have a pecuniary interest in good order, and would find it no use to stir up strife.

The devastations of Zenghis Khan in a country once called the terrestrial paradise, would be repaired : Bactria, the seat of a very ancient civilization, the starting-point whence our forefathers took their departure for Europe, would again resume its fertility and beauty : the Oxus would be a link between British India and Siberia designed to be a Russian East Indies ; and Bokhara might become a second Punjab. When will the remarks we quote about the state of things in the Punjab, be applicable to the Valley of the Oxus ? "Order is better than anarchy, justice than tyranny, equity than extortion, free institutions than feudalism, nature's sweet law and homestead than the savage doctrines of superstition, and nature's lovely colony on her fields than the pale corpses and the crimson blood ;—these are what have come to the five waters, with Eng-

lish administration, while the remnants of a by-gone aristocracy are passing from the scene, not with precipitated ruin but in a gradual and mitigated decline. On the other hand, the hardy yeomen, the strong-handed peasants, the thrifty traders, the enterprising capitalists, are rising up in a robust prosperity to be the durable and reliable bulwark of the power which protects and befriends them. Among all classes there has supervened a greater regard for vested rights, for ancestral property, for established principles. Justice is the cheap defence of nations ; how manifestly was that illustrated by the Punjab being the mainstay of our rule during the Mutiny."

Count Gereptozoff, a Russian, who has studied the question of trade to Central Asia, has calculated that goods might be sent from Paris to Tashkend in 20 days—from Paris to the east of the Caspian, 6 days by rail ; by steamer to Astrakhan 4 ; to the Sea of Aral, by the proposed rail, 2 ; by Steamer to Tashkend, 5 ; total 20 ; and from Paris to Persia *via* Astrakhan a bale of goods might be sent in 12 days. Mitchell in his valuable work, "The Russians in Central Asia," remarks on this : "England will have her share in the trade ; her manufactures will be able to compete though carried by Russian iron and water ways along the line which for centuries was so profitable to the Genoese, and along which colonies of Indian Buddhists streamed ages before to settle in Western Europe."

England with her reformed Parliament, America purged of the crime of Slavery, and Russia with her principle of peasant-proprietorship, have great interests in common on popular grounds. What Lanoye said of the Punjab peasant is now applicable to the Russian and American :—

"Le paysan montre avec joie d'immenses étendues couvertes des riches moissons—autrefois sans cesse ravagées par les Sikhs : maintenant, dit-il, Souvent nous recoltions les champs que nous avons semé ; nos pères ne le pouvaient pas."

Though England is a century ahead of Russia in almost every point, yet there are certain subjects on which England, and particularly India, by a friendly connection with Russia may learn, as well as communicate, useful lessons. In India we are anxious to revive, as far as possible, the old Municipal system,—one of the earliest institutions of the Indo-Germanic races, which made of every village a little republic. No country is better worth studying in this respect than Russia ; for not only are the present reforms based on Municipalities, but from the earliest historic period Russia has had her village system and peasant-proprietorship, which have achieved such wonders in Germany and



other States, and which will be ere long introduced into England. As the attention of the authorities in India, and especially in the Punjab, has been directed to the working of Municipal institutions and village administration, why should not the Government of India send an Agent to Russia to report on this ? On the same grounds as the French Government dispatched Victor Cousin to Prussia on whose primary education he has published an admirable report, let Russia in turn send an agent to enquire into our Educational and administrative systems.

The Slavonic literature of Russia being formed on a semi-Oriental base, like many Russian institutions, would seem in various respects most useful as a model for the rising Indian Native Literature.

Feudalism, which has been swept away from France, Germany, and Russia, is now fighting its last battle in England and India. The history of Russian serf-emanicipation teaches many lessons how to win the victory.

No country in Europe presents such a subject of interest to India as Russia does in respect of her power of adapting herself to the varied nationalities, and in connection with that, availing herself to the utmost of the services of foreigners. Germans were Russia's chief teachers, while English merchants and English officers in her Navy built up her mercantile and marine power : pre-eminent among these were Scotchmen.

As a *sine quâ non* for a good understanding is mutual knowledge, the Russians have here a great advantage ; for while few Englishmen are acquainted with their beautiful language, or know their rising literature, educated Russians know more or less of English. As an instance, there are more than 300 English Governesses employed in Russia for instructing Russian families. On the other hand, few Russians travel in England ; they stop at Paris and seldom cross the channel. Englishmen can, and Anglo-Indians in particular ought, when at home on furlough, to travel in Russia. Murray has given a good hand-book. French is the key, while 4 days can transport them from London to Moscow, and, in a couple of years, two additional days will transfer them to the Caspian.\*

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\* The following Books on Russia are easily attainable, and ought to be read by every intelligent Anglo-Indian and Native :— Edward's Russians at Home ; Murray's Hand-Book to Russia ; Stanley's Eastern Churches ; Mitchel's Russians in Central Asia ; Trevor's Russia, Ancient and Modern ; History of Russia, by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge ; Kohl's Russia ; Haxthausen's Russia ; Life of Peter the Great, by Barrow ; Bell's Russia in the Cabinet Encyclopedia."

To obtain a good understanding with Russia, may be called an impracticable dream, savouring too much of the school of St. Pierre and Rousseau ; but it will be admitted, that no possible harm can ensue from trying to effect it, and from adopting all steps that would conduce to it, especially now that the party coming into power, of Bright and Gladstone, have no sympathy with the Palmerstonian policy, which was rank Toryism in England, and bullying in all foreign countries. The people of England must sympathize with the emancipated serfs of Russia, and with those great democratic reforms which must ere long culminate in a Constitutional Government in Russia. There is also hope in higher quarters. On the Prince of Wales' visit to St. Petersburg on the occasion of the Czarowich's marriage, 15 representatives from the British community of St. Petersburg, which amounts to 3,000, waited on him, being presented by the British Ambassador, " to congratulate him on the connection which the Czarowich's marriage created between the reigning families of Russia and Great Britain,—this being the first time when an heir to the British Throne has visited Russia,—a tie of the happiest augury for friendly relations between the two countries. As residents of St. Petersburg, interested for the most part in commerce and manufactures, we are in a position to appreciate the manifold advantages which extended trade cannot fail to afford to both countries, for it is no imaginary bond which draws the two nations together, but a community of interests based upon an interchange of services which the greatest agricultural people, and the greatest manufacturing nation of Europe, are capable of rendering to each other. We recognise the happy influence which the many social and administrative reforms, inaugurated during the present reign, must inevitably exercise upon the development of the internal resources and foreign trade of this Empire. We know that these signs of a coming prosperity were gladly welcomed by our countrymen in England, as they are by the British residents in St. Petersburg."

The Prince read a reply recognising the connection between us and the Grand Duke as a means of strengthening the friendly relations between Great Britain and Russia ;—" You say truly that a community of mutual interests must have a favourable influence on the connection between the two countries, and it affords me the highest satisfaction to know that those interests are still upheld in Russia, as they have been for the last three hundred years by a body of British residents who possess the respect and confidence of Government and people,

“and who occupy a position at once honorable to themselves  
 “and to their country. We have happily become aware in Eng-  
 “land that our own well-being is promoted by that of other  
 “nations, and I congratulate you sincerely on your anticipation  
 “of a further development of the resources and commerce of  
 “Russia.”

This article, which though the importance of the subject has been stretched to a length much beyond what we had originally intended, must now be concluded, and we close with the words of a recent tourist in India—“Dr. Norman McLeod—who visited Russia in 1861, and in “Good Words” for that year, has given some graphic sketches of the places he has seen. He finishes in this noble and generous strain :—

“With a powerful and great Government, an educated people, a reformed Greek Church and an open Bible, what may not Russia yet become? We may rejoice in the prospect, for the sake of our common humanity. She reigns supreme over a vast and busy population, as well as over hordes of roving barbarians. Her means of internal communication by her gigantic rivers; the facilities afforded by her plains and forests for railways and telegraphs; her immense mineral riches and boundless plains of fertile soil; her unassailable military position when on the defensive; her almost unlimited command of men to supply her armies; the subtlety, perseverance, and governing power of her officials, and the hardihood of her people—all promise a future for Russia which, without affording any great cause of alarm to Europe, affords great cause of joyful anticipation to herself, and to all who wish civilisation to supplant barbarism. And if to this is added the hope of Christian truth imbuing a Church whose authority is acknowledged by eighty millions of the human race, we may well look with profound interest on all that is taking place in Russia, and from our hearts wish her God-speed in the cause on which she has entered.”

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## HISTORICAL CREDIBILITY OF THE MAHĀ BHĀRATA.

ART. III.—1. *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.*

By J. Talboys Wheeler. Vol. I.

THE annals of every nation commence with a Legendary Period, consisting of the myths and traditions which expressed the sympathies and beliefs of a primitive people. The earliest bards, in whose hymns or songs the national legends first assumed a literary form, were separated by a long interval from the age when the events of that distant past were supposed to have happened. There was no evidence for the reality of those events, but the evidence of popular faith: and the men who described them were conscious of no other duty than to describe them simply as they were believed both by themselves and by their contemporaries.

The Historical Period, which succeeds to the Legendary, differs from it in every circumstance of time, character, and credentials. The time to which it refers is not a distant traditional past, which possibly never existed; but a past which was actually present to some generation of living men. Instead of the vaguely defined, ill-grounded, ill-connected, and variously-reported events of the Legendary Period, we have now a credible and well-attested account of the progress of human affairs according to the course which they actually followed. The writers of these historical times were men who lived in, or very near, the age itself; and consequently, they had no need to take anything upon trust. They had formed some conceptions of the difference between certified fact and uncertified tradition, and were conscious of the necessity of weighing evidence, and of the duty of aiming at exactness.

It is much easier to draw this distinction than to apply it. The age of legend always precedes and introduces the age of history; but it seldom vanishes at the point where the other begins. They generally cross over into each other's borders, and continue to co-exist for a certain time, so as to form an intermediate period of doubtful credibility. It is difficult to say for certain, in any given case, where and when the documents on which we have to depend, become strictly reliable: and yet in studying the ancient history of a country it is most desirable

at the very outset to ascertain, if possible, at what point the real history begins. As the difficulty here referred to is one which really exists, it is most important that it should be fairly recognized, otherwise our studies in ancient history are not likely to be either successful or instructive.

Our object in the present paper, is to discuss this vital question in reference to the annals of ancient India; more particularly with a view to examining the historical credibility of the Mahā Bhārata, a poem which has lately been analysed in the most exhaustive manner, and has been made to surrender to the hands of a modern critic an obscure chapter of Indian history. As the annals of Indian antiquity are only now beginning to be explored, and the question of credibility has not yet been rigorously or variously applied to them, we may hope for some guidance in our difficult search, by seeing with what results the same question has been applied to the antiquities of other countries, and how far it has been satisfactorily answered.

In the case of ancient Greece, the point at which history begins has at length been definitely settled; and whether we turn to the annals of each separate State or to those which may be considered the common property of the whole Grecian community, we come to the same result. The first authentic dates of each separate political centre, Sparta, Elis, Argos, Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, coincide nearly with each other, and with the first authentic date common to the Hellenic nation. This date is the year of the First Olympiad, B. C. 776. It is a date which may safely be considered authentic and reliable, because it was recorded at the time when the great Olympic festival was either instituted for the first time, or revived and placed upon a new footing. It is, therefore, a contemporary register of an actual occurrence. Here, then, is the proper commencement of the history of Greece, and of the Grecian States. Between this register, which is the first certified date of the Historical age, and the last conjectural date of the Legendary age, occurs a blank of about three hundred years; and the occurrence of this blank corroborates very forcibly the result already determined. "It is not," says Grote, "the immediate past, but a supposed remote past which forms the suitable atmosphere of mythical narrative,—a past originally quite undetermined in respect to distance from the present. The gods and heroes were conceived as removed from the present hearers by several generations, and the legendary matter which was grouped around them appeared only the more imposing when exhibited at a respectful distance, beyond the days of father and

“grand-father and all known predecessors.” This empty interval of about three centuries is fixed like a great gulf between the opposite worlds of fancy and fact. Herodotus can never be regarded as a continuation of Homer, until this gulf has been crossed, and a firm landing effected on the legendary shore.

With our present knowledge, the line cannot be drawn with the same exactness in the case of the Roman antiquities as it has been drawn in the case of Greek. The passage from legend to history is very gradual; and the mists of tradition fade away, like morning vapours, as the light of history rises and overspreads the political horizon. The period of the Samnite Wars marks the transition. There is much in the accounts of these wars which appears to possess an historical reality: the events, for the first time in Roman annals, hinge one upon another in the order of natural consequences; and there is not the same necessity for mutilating the original accounts. But we have no warrant for supposing that the testimony to these events is contemporary with the age in which they are said to have occurred, or at least no more than a century behind it. Without this warrant, we cannot admit them within the strictly Historical Period. Hence for the present, the invasion of Pyrrhus must be considered the starting point from which the regular continuous course of Roman history begins.

The annals of Egypt begin to be credible with the accession of Psammetichus, B. C. 670. However ancient may have been the religion, traditions, and civilization of Egypt, no reliable history can be said to exist before the reign of Psammetichus. In the place of history we have abundant legends relating to the pyramids and temples, with which the priests of Egypt imposed upon the honest credulity of Herodotus, and gratified his antiquarian curiosity. In addition to these, we have interminable lists of dynasties, which were arranged upon various methods by Greek compilers, and which critics in more recent times have vainly attempted to reconcile. The monuments of Egypt have been deciphered; but we have no warrant for supposing that they were contemporary registers, regularly and correctly recorded; and they are as difficult to reconcile, as the different chronological systems of the Greek compilers. Consequently we are driven to regard Psammetichus as the first personage in the annals of Egypt with whom the regular history of Egypt begins. He was the first to open his country to the Greeks: and in his reign we have the first coincidence of Egyptian, Greek, Median, and Jewish chronology.

If the same exactness is to be applied to the antiquities of India, as has been applied already by the resistless arguments of Grote and Sir Cornwall Lewis to the antiquities of Greece, Rome, and Egypt, it must be admitted that we have no regular narrative of historical events, recorded by contemporary observers, prior to the invasion of Mahmood of Ghuzni. The whole period preceding Mahmood is legendary, with the exception of two well-known events,—the invasion of Alexander, the King of Macedonia, and the invasions of the Arabs during the decline of the Ommiade dynasty. Seleucus Nicator has been shown to synchronize with Sandracottus, King of Magada; and Casim, the Arab invader, with Dahir, the Raja of Scinde. With these two exceptions, every fragment of the history of ancient India has been lost.

But India was a wealthy, prosperous, and civilized country for many centuries before the time of the Ghuznvide invasions: and it seems a most deplorable circumstance that the only history we possess of it should be the modern, and as it might be called, the foreign, history of its conquerors. What we desire to read is a history of its own people—the Hindus: but in turning to the extant remains of Sanscrit literature, we are sadly disappointed with what we find there. We find an abundant collection of almost every kind of literature, except historical; hymns to be sung at the celebrations of sacrifice; minute instructions as to the manner of celebration; accounts of the national festivals; speculations upon the origin of the universe and the nature of the human soul; treatises upon law, religion, and philosophy; acute and learned disquisitions on grammar, logic, and mathematics; Epic poems recording in profuse abundance the legends and traditions of antiquity; and dramatical poems embellishing the tales and plots which have been preserved in the Epic poems. But in the whole catalogue of Sanscrit books there is no mention of historical literature.

Possibly, however, we are not altogether justified in concluding that there are no extant remains of historical literature. An Epic poem is not necessarily the same thing in the productions of the Sanscrit language, as it is in those of the Greek, Latin, or any other language with which we are acquainted. The point has not been mentioned by Mr. Wheeler; though it is one which well deserves attention in asking and answering the question, *Is there any extant history of ancient India?* In the writings of the Greeks, the ancient Epic is so thoroughly distinct from the literature which succeeded it, that it would be absurd to speak of Homer as an historical writer, in the same

way that we speak of Herodotus. In Sanscrit literature, on the other hand, all works were written in metre, even dictionaries : and if books of that prosaic and uninviting character were composed in metre, historical records might easily have been composed and compiled in the same manner. When, therefore, we talk of the Epic poems of India, we must not hastily conclude that they are totally devoid of historical substance, merely because the form of their composition is poetical.

It must be admitted, on turning to the Mahá Bhárata, that the poem, as it stands, does not look much like an historical record. It abounds in fabulous and supernatural matter ; and it is not easy to pick one's way through the multitude and variety of its innumerable stories, so as to discover the main events, and to see in what connection they stand to each other. We are, therefore, justified in saying that no *directly* historical records are extant, which could unfold to us the older days of Indian history. On the other hand, if it be conceded that the original form of the Mahá Bhárata was a metrical history, and if the modern student may be allowed to make a free use of his reason in discarding all the unnecessary and supernatural matter and reproducing the original basis upon which so many absurdities have been engrafted, then it may be possible to extract a history of some kind out of the Mahá Bhárata. And if this expedient is not to be allowed, we must be content to remain in utter darkness of the political history of the old Hindu Rajas, who ruled a prosperous people, before the times of Mahommedan conquest. Mr. Wheeler is the first writer who has applied the Rationalistic method to the interpretation of the Mahá Bhárata : and he has applied it in the most exhaustive and searching manner. The peculiar privilege of this method, which marks it from every other mode of criticism, is the power which it claims to possess of discovering the original basis of fact, upon which the fabulous superstructure has been raised. The principal means for effecting this discovery are to eliminate the supernatural, and to remove all extraneous and unnecessary matter. Finally, when the principal facts have been thus elicited, they require to be adjusted upon some plan, so that they may appear consecutive and connected together, as historical events always are.

There is something very attractive in the rationalistic method, and this is one reason why it has been so often adopted. It is impossible to look back upon the legendary past, which nations in their childhood so implicitly believed in, and which has had such influence upon their actions in historical times,



without feeling the want of some explanatory theory by which its original data shall be discovered. The theory adopted by the rationalist is short and simple : " it is fiction founded upon fact ; there are real facts at bottom, but they have been overgrown with fabulous details, and, perhaps, interpolated by " interested persons." There is nothing which at first sight appears at all improbable in the explanation here offered : and at the same time it is very acceptable to the inquisitive reader ; for historical curiosity abhors the vacuum which would be created by the total rejection of legendary literature. What the mind can easily understand, and what it desires to regard as an established result, it is very willing to accept : and hence it decides that the traditions of antiquity shall not be thrown to the void, but utilized ; and in the absence of any records more direct and definite, manipulated into history. Splendid attractions are offered to him who applies this critical method. It enables a man to restore with his own hands a period of history which had long been concealed from view, and to bring an almost new world into being ; to dethrone or set up kings and royal dynasties ; and to humanize gods and heroes. It is true that these brilliant results are not attainable without a great expenditure of labour. But even in this respect he is amply rewarded : the painfulness of tracking out the intricate paths in which the fragments of fact are hid, is indemnified at every step by the pleasure of consulting probabilities ; and the keenness of the pursuit is frequently relieved by the amusement of the sport.

Our present purpose is to examine the merits of the rationalistic method in the discharge of its peculiar function. We have no fault to find with it as long as it confines itself to the elucidation of manners ; but we desire to test the power which it claims to possess of extracting history out of legend. These two functions are quite distinct. We believe most fully in the possibility of the former : we doubt very much the capabilities of the latter.

We shall first show that Mr. Wheeler holds the theory we have imputed to him : we shall then point out what appears to us to be its inherent fallacy.

On the historical value which he attaches to the *Mahá Bhá-rata*, he has expressed himself as follows :—

" The history of India properly so called, is to be found in the two voluminous epics, known as the *Mahá Bhárata*, or the Great War of *Bhárata*, and the *Rámáyana*, or the adventures of *Ráma*. These two

"extraordinary poems comprise the whole of what remains of the political, social, and religious history of India, and may be regarded as the reflex of the Hindu world. But at the same time, they are of such an interminable length and exhibit such a complicated intertwining of traditions and fables, referring to different periods, races, and religions, that the student is frequently lost in a literary jungle." Page 3.

Mr. Wheeler is not the first writer who has held and recorded this opinion of the historical value of the Epic poems. The same was expressed by Elphinstone in the following words :— "After seventy generations of the Solar race, comes Ráma, who seems entitled to take his place in real history. His story, when stripped of its fabulous details and romantic decorations, merely relates that Ráma possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan ; and that he invaded the Deckan, and penetrated to the island of Ceylon, which he conquered. The war celebrated in the Mahá Bhárata is the next historical event that deserves notice." (History of India, Book IV, Chapter I.) This is precisely the same general view as Mr. Wheeler's, and the method by which the theory would have been worked out had Elphinstone proceeded with it, is the rationalistic method. We notice one discrepancy between the two writers. They differ as to the relative antiquity of the two Kings, Ráma and Bhárata. This discrepancy may not be very important ; but it shows that writers who use the rationalistic method and apply it to the same subject, may come to different results at the very commencement of their labours

Mr. Wheeler has discovered that there is a double element in the Mahá Bhárata, the one of Kshetriya, the other of Brahman origin. The former consists of the legends, in which the main stories of the poem are contained. The other consists of interpolations, which Brahman editors have introduced into the original body of the poem. Mr. Wheeler's criticism is supported to some extent by the best authorities on the subject,—Burnouf, Lassen, Weber, Max Müller and others. Max Müller has expressed his opinion in the following words :—"In the form in which we now possess the Mahá Bhárata, it shows clear traces that the poets who collected and finished it, breathed an intellectual and religious atmosphere very different from that in which the heroes of the poem moved. The Epic character of the story has throughout been changed, and almost obliterated by the didactic tendencies of the latest editors, who were clearly Brahmans brought up in the strict school of the Laws of Manu. But the original traditions of the Pándavas break through now and then, and we can clearly discern that the races among whom the five principal heroes of the Mahá Bhárata were born and fostered, were by no means completely

"under the sway of Brahmanical law." (History of Sans. Lit. page 46.) So far Mr. Wheeler has the highest authorities in Sanscrit literature agreeing with him; and from the analysis which he has himself given of the marriage customs, burial rites, and sacrificial ceremonies which can be deduced from the earlier portions of the poem, there cannot be the smallest doubt that the latest editors were men who made it their object to Brahmanize the tone and spirit of the original Epic, and inculcate their own tenets through the medium of popular traditions which had been handed down from an older age.

But when he proceeds to add that the original poem contained the germs of an historical record, and that the latest editors were not merely converting an Epic poem into a Didactic one, but also falsifying and perverting a narrative which contained an account of actual occurrences, he has advanced a theory of his own which must stand or fall by the arguments which he can bring forward in support of it.

The narrative which Mr. Wheeler has extracted out of his Kshetriya legends, comprises the following accounts: A fragmentary history of the kings who reigned in the Raj of Bhárata from the foundation of the Raj to the accession of Dhritaráshttra: a detailed and almost complete history of the feuds between the Kauravas and the Pándavas, ending in the battle of Kurukshetra, and the defeat of the Kauravas: a fragmentary history of the reign of the house of Pandu from the installation of Raja Yudhishtira till the departure of the five Pandavas in the disguise of pilgrims, and their death upon the Himalayan mountains.

Of these three accounts the central one is the real subject of the Mahá Bhárata. The course of the quarrel between the Kauravas and the Pándavas is marked by the following events and changes: The original feud at Hustinápur between Yudhishtira and Duryodhana for the title of heir-apparent to the Raj of Bhárata: the first exile of Pándavas, and their marriage with a beautiful princess named Draupadi: their return to Hustinápur, and temporary reconciliation with the Kauravas: the prosperous reign of the Pándavas in Khándana Prastha, and the renewal of the family feud: the gambling match at Hustinápur, which led to the insults that were heaped upon Draupadi, and to the second banishment of the Pándavas; the fruitless attempt at negociation: the battle of Kurukshetra, and its terrible sequel, the revenge of Aswattháma.

The above are the leading facts which have been elicited out of the Kshetriya legends. Besides these, there is one portion of the Brahmanical matter which is historical, and that

is, the legends relating to Krishna. Krishna appears indeed in the story of the Great War ; but as he lived much later than the time of the war, and as the part he plays in it is not at all necessary to the story, this portion of the Krishna legends must be discarded as fictitious. Those which remain are authentic and historical ; and the principal events of Krishna's life are summed up in Chapter I, Part III.

Beside the Kshetriya legends, and the Krishna legends, and the Brahmanical fabrications, there are some portions of the poem which do not belong distinctly to either department ; and consequently their nature is somewhat amphibious on the score of credibility. The facts alleged are not in any way the facts which occurred. The facts as they are alleged, require to be understood in a figurative sense : and then a fact, or idea of a fact, is elicited. Some of the most inexplicable passages assume by this means a definite signification. The Asuras, Rákshakas, Daityas, &c., are the Aborigines ; the Daityas in other places are the Buddhists ; the Nágas are a Scythian tribe of serpent-worshippers. The passages in which these names occur are, as they stand, among the most difficult in the poem ; but now that these identifications have been discovered, we can read in them a germ of fact. They allude in a figurative kind of language to the advance of the Aryan settlers among the aboriginal natives ; the ancient conflict of the Brahmaus with a tribe of Scythians ; and the persecution of the Buddhists by the reviving sect of Brahmaus.

In following the course of the quarrel between the Kauravas and the Pándavas, we are not to lose sight of another conflict which was keeping pace with it all along—the war which the Aryans were perpetually waging against the Aborigines. The Raj of Bhárata is discovered to be an Aryan outpost ; and hence the desperate internal struggle which divided the house of Bhárata becomes intimately connected with the progress of the Aryan invaders from west to east. The first exile of the Pándavas consisted not merely in banishment from the Raj of Bhárata, as it is described in the poem, but in the march of an Aryan clan into the jungle haunts of the native savages, whom they speedily dispossessed and deprived of their land and property. In like manner, the division of the Raj of Bhárata between the Kauravas and the Pándavas indicates an important step in the progress of Aryan aggression. It is not so much what it is represented to be in the poem, a division of the Raj, but a family arrangement, by the terms of which the Pándavas consented to waive their immediate rights and go abroad to wrest a new country from the Aborigines.

From the summary sketch that has now been given of the main results at which Mr. Wheeler has arrived, the reader will have already formed a fair idea of his manner of obtaining them. Where the main event was given with tolerable correctness, nothing further was necessary than to eliminate the supernatural and to cut down the details. Jewels are easily converted into garlands of flowers, and gorgeous palaces into mud forts ; and the boundaries of the Raj of Bhárata are easily drawn in within the immediate neighbourhood of Hustinápur. If the action of the poem wanders beyond these just limits, the names of places are altered, and some town or hamlet in the vicinity of Hustinápur is substituted for such a remote city as Benares. Allegory is also a powerful weapon ; but, though it is useful in the present case for fixing some sense upon otherwise senseless passages, it is not of a kind which should be imitated by those who use allegory as a vehicle for instruction. There are some instances of passages which are susceptible of a double reference ; as for instance those passages where the ancient conflicts between the Brahmans and the Nágas are merged in the later religious wars between the Brahmans and the Buddhists. It shows the tenuity of a fact, or rather of the idea of a fact, when it can be thus easily merged into another so different from itself in every circumstance, and relating to an age so wide apart. It shows, too, the worthlessness of the knowledge that either of them can give us when both are elicited out of the same original matter. There is no name that we know of in the vocabulary of critical methods, which fully answers to such an ingenious process in the science of interpretation.

We have now to commence the second part of our design, and point out our reasons for disbelieving the historical credibility of the Mahá Bhárata. The reader cannot doubt in what sense we use the word *historical* ; but as we observe considerable confusion in the use of the word in the volume before us, we shall here once for all define it. A legend is sometimes said to possess "historical value," when it illustrates some ancient custom, institutions, &c., which merely means that the custom was one which once prevailed, not that the events which constitute the matter of the legend were events that ever really occurred. Again, a legend is sometimes said to be "historical," where the word *historical* is opposed to *mythical*, just as *real* is opposed to *fictitious* : in this sense of the word we are to understand that the events contained in the legend are events which actually occurred. In the course of his analysis of the Mahá Bhárata, Mr. Wheeler has used the word *historical*,

sometimes in the former, and sometimes in the latter sense. Whenever he uses the word in the former sense, we agree with him entirely; for this, in our opinion, is the only sense in which the Mahá Bhárata can be said to possess an historical value. But whenever he uses the word in the latter sense, we differ from him *in toto*. We go so far as to say that it is doubtful whether there is a single historical character in the whole poem.

I. The historical point of view, which has been applied by Mr. Wheeler, does not express the sense in which the poem was understood, or intended, by its original authors and hearers: and modern critics are not entitled, without a reliable warrant to the contrary, to depart so widely from the original point of view, or to take up any stand-point they please.

If we concede to Mr. Wheeler the possibility of cutting out the didactic additions of the latest editors, and thus of reproducing approximately the original epic; is there any thing in the contents of the earlier portions of the poem to show that either the authors or the hearers of them paid any regard to matters of fact, or were conscious of the difference between romance and history? If we look to the contents of the poem, we may safely conclude that they were conscious of no such difference. Nothing but the free use of the knife, and the frequent resort to various modes of ingenious reconstruction, could give the poem even the appearance of reality which it has received from Mr. Wheeler's hands. Had the authors of the poem been at all concerned in correctly recording facts, or in conveying historical knowledge to their hearers, no such expedients would have been required of the modern critic. Without accusing them of being conscious that they were composing fiction, or of wishing to deceive their audience, we conclude that neither they nor their audience took any interest in historical questions, and that the only study of the past of which they were capable, was an unquestioning veneration for the traditions of a remote antiquity.

Mr. Wheeler has attributed the authorship of the original epic to a class of Kshetriya bards, and this is his mode of describing them:—

"The ancient bards indulged in Oriental exaggeration and embellishment, which a critical age refuses to accept as abstract truth. \* \*

\* \* \* \* Such additions, however, are both allowable and natural in a primitive age, when the historian is little more than a narrator of stories, and is appreciated not for his critical powers, but for the interest he excites, and the amusement he conveys." *Pages 40-41.*

"Such history (?) should of course be accepted not as a sober narrative or unimpassioned disquisition, to be pursued in silence and calmness in the study, but rather as a romantic ballad to be chaunted with a modulated

voice before a large and mixed audience of men and women of all ages, with uncultured minds probably, but with every passion of the human heart in full and healthy play." *Page 41.*

This is small encouragement for the historian of the present day, who is forced to depend upon such guides. If the bard's object was to amuse rather than to interest—to excite the passions rather than to inform the understanding—what warrant have we that his poem contains even a germ of fact? We are certain from the poem which we now have, even when the Brahmanical portions have been excluded, that he resorted to the most monstrous excesses of exaggeration and embellishment, and the wildest descriptions that can be imagined. If these were the subjects that excited and amused his audience, why should he have taken his facts from scenes of the present day, or those of the immediate past, when there was already a remote and splendid world of tradition or mythology, so much more attractive and more capable of embellishment? Was not the golden age, when gods and men held frequent intercourse, better adapted to his purpose than the dull historical present which required so much perversion to render it acceptable? But whether he introduced the historical or not, this much is clear,—the historical has not descended to us. If the historical ever formed any portion of the Mahá Bhárata, it has not been allowed to remain in its real colours; and as we cannot recognize it in the poem that we now have, we have no right to assume that it ever existed there. We are at a loss to see on what grounds a modern critic should attribute to an ancient poem a quality which was not seen or intended either by its first authors or its first hearers.

II. In many passages in the volume before us (see for instance page 48), a legend is said to become "natural and historical" as soon as the mythical husk has been cleared away. The natural surely is not always historical, though the historical is always natural. There is no warrant that in making the supernatural appear natural, we are converting legend into history. It is necessary that some reliable witness should be produced, who can tell us, not that such a thing *could* have happened, but that it *did* happen. Mr. Wheeler's canon, however, is less exacting; and it was the looseness, perhaps, of this canon which led to the confusion between natural and historical.

"When the main stories of the Mahá Bhárata have been reproduced from the ancient poem, and cleared of most of their non-essential and non-historical matter, a question arises as to the degree of credibility to be given to the residue. Upon this point it may be remarked that

where there is no motive for deception, and no departure from nature, a general belief may be accorded to the incidents." *Page 40.*

For instance, it was stated in one of the accounts of the recent cyclone, that the library of the Hoogly College was greatly injured by it. Here there was nothing to gain by stating what was not true, and there was no violation of the laws of nature. Accordingly, if Mr. Wheeler's canon is sound, the library was injured; but it was not injured; therefore the canon is not sound. The canon is a purely negative test; and until a positive witness is produced, all negative tests are worthless.

The canon is defective on other grounds. It appears to imply that as long as men have no motive for deception, they are sure to be free from error; and that when they do err, it is because they intended to do so. This is surely not true. Men are liable to err unintentionally; and when they err, they do not always discover it: and when they discover it, they do not always take the trouble to correct themselves. The cyclone was a contemporary event; and yet an error was committed. The Great War was never, in our opinion, a contemporary event even to its first poets; and so the chances of error are innumerable. At the same time the narrator of the Great War was no doubt as fully persuaded of its reality as Homer was of the Trojan war. But the credulity of a poet is quite a distinct thing from the credibility of his accounts.

The "main stories" intended in the above passage, are of course the Kshetriya legends, which form the ground plan of the poem in its present exaggerated size. This is not denied. Grote in the same manner discovers an Achilles as the ground plan of the Iliad which we now have. But Mr. Wheeler appears to have tacitly inferred that that which is the basis of the poem, must be the basis of fact; and that on this common basis, the details of the story have grown to their present dimensions. This conclusion is surely very rash. Grote has not supposed that there is any basis of fact in his Achilles. And that popular tales can run their own course without the support of such a basis, is manifest from the discoveries of Comparative Mythology.

III. The fundamental hypothesis upon which Mr. Wheeler's historical reproduction depends, is described in the following passage:—

"Before reproducing in historical form the main traditions which are embodied in the ancient epic, there is one point which must be carefully noticed. The leading events belong to one age; the poem belongs to another, and to a later period. In other words, the Mahā Bhārata



was not composed in its present form, until a period long after that in which the heroes of the poem lived and died. The result has been, that the events of one age have been coloured by the ideas of another. And this chronological interval could scarcely have been less than one or two thousand years." Page 4.

The question now is, by what means is this tremendous interval to be crossed? By what medium were the facts, which occurred so many centuries ago, safely transmitted to the last collectors or compilers of the Mahá Bhārata? Was there ever another form of the poem except the present, which was committed to writing? It may be difficult to answer these questions; but no attempts at concocting a credible version of the present poem should have been made, without first determining whether its crude materials are credible and derived from reliable sources.

The only passage we can discover in the volume before us, which gives any account of the authorship of the poem, is the following:—

"The original traditions and institutions which appear in the Mahá Bhārata are undoubtedly of Kshetriya origin, and in their earliest form were probably little more than ballads, which were sung or chaunted at the feasts and festivals of the Kshetrias. Under such circumstances the details may have been exaggerated by the *old Kshetriya bards* in order to glorify the ancient Rajas, and gratify the chieftains present by extravagant praises of their ancestors. Occasionally, too, the *bards* seem to have introduced poetical embellishments and artificial turns of a plot, which were more in accordance with a later and luxurious stage of civilization, and also better calculated to awaken and keep alive the interest of large and mixed audiences. But the *latest compilers* of the Mahá Bhārata were unquestionably Brahmans; and they appear to have resolutely and consistently falsified the Kshetriya traditions."

We have italicized the different authors who, according to the above statements, had a hand in the composition of the Mahá Bhārata; "the old Kshetriya bards"; "the bards"; "the latest compilers." It is impossible to determine from the context whether "the old Kshetriya bards" and "the bards" are intended to be the same persons, or whether "the bards" are meant to stand half way in the gap of the ten or twenty centuries which come between "the old Kshetriya bards" and the modern Brahman "compilers." The matter, however, is of no importance; as the whole question of credibility turns upon the means available to the earliest authors for obtaining reliable information. Let us see then what account Mr. Wheeler has given of the old Kshetriya bards. In the first place, it is doubtful whether they ever composed the ballads alluded to; and this doubt is admitted by Mr. Wheeler in using the word *probably*. In the second place, if they did compose the ballads which are

doubtfully ascribed to them, they are described as glorifying the *ancient rajas*, and uttering extravagant praises of *ancestors*. That is, the hypothetical ballads sung by the Kshetriya bards were of a *modern* date as compared with the events and persons celebrated in them ; and, therefore, no reliance whatever can be placed upon their accounts. Thus, the first ballads, which formed the crude materials of the oldest portions of the Mahá Bhárata, are devoid of historical credibility.

If Mr. Wheeler could have shown for certain that the Mahá Bhárata had ever existed in any other regular or written form than the one we have ; that this poem or series of poems was preserved intact or nearly so, till it reached the hands of its last compilers and perverters ; and that the authors of these poems were contemporary or nearly so, with the events commemorated ; and, above all, that they took some pains to record them correctly, and that they possessed what is called "the historical sense ;" then it might have been possible to extract, amid much contradiction of statement, some approximation to a real history. But no such theory has been suggested ; and the necessity of having and of proving such a theory does not appear to have been felt ; and consequently no reliance whatever can be placed upon the historical reproduction which Mr. Wheeler has offered. No accounts, which do not possess an indubitable certainty, are entitled to be called historical ; for history is an account of things which have been, not of things which *may* have been. In Mr. Wheeler's case, not only is there no certainty, but there is a very high degree of improbability.

It might be replied in answer to this, that contemporary written evidence is not necessary ; that oral transmission is a tolerably safe medium ; that if the tradition is arrested somewhere in its course, and probabilities are carefully consulted, we can work backwards, and arrive at the historical basis ; just as in a binomial series, if one or two terms in the middle are given, we can discover from them what the original binomial was.

In the above argument there are two assumptions, neither of which can be proved ; and these two assumptions appear to be always involved in the Rationalistic theory ; and in our opinion they expose the fallacy of the whole process. It takes it for granted, firstly, that every tradition *has* an historical basis ; secondly, that it never shifts its basis. The first assumption is entirely disproved by the results of Comparative Mythology, according to which even the Trojan war has been pronounced to be a solar myth ; and though it cannot, perhaps, be proved to be certainly a solar myth, yet no one can show for certain that it

is any thing else. The second assumption is disproved by many well-established instances, in which we are able to compare the last phase of the tradition with the original facts from which its career commenced. St. George and the Dragon is a popular English legend. Whatever the Dragon may signify, St. George is the national champion of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and the garter; and a Saint of great renown. The original facts, however, are quite different, as the reader may discover by turning to Stanley's *Lecture on Athanasius*, in the "Eastern Church;" or to Gibbon's account of the real George, in the "Decline and Fall." St. George was not a Saint of the Orthodox Church, but an Arian heretic; he did not belong to England, but to Cappadocia; he did not defeat the Dragon, but the Dragon defeated him; the Dragon is Athanasius, the Bishop of Alexandria, and the Champion of Orthodoxy. Has not the legend shifted its original basis? If the historical name of Athanasius could be so easily lost, the name of George, which has survived, could easily have been fictitious. On the same grounds, we have no data for determining whether Raja Bhárata or any other personage in the Indian Epic, is a real or a fabulous character.

IV. We are not satisfied that it is possible to discover with precision and exactness what the earlier portions of the Mahá Bhárata are; and if this discovery is barely possible, still less is it possible to detect their assumed historical basis.

Mr. Wheeler has pointed out the characteristic marks by which the modern parts of the Mahá Bhárata can be distinguished from the more ancient, in the following words:—

"Ancient Brahman sages, under the name of Rishis, are absurdly and abruptly introduced, in order to work miracles of the wildest and most senseless character, and to compel the reverence and obedience of such deities as Indra to Brahmanical authority. Moreover, acts which are contrary to morality and common decency are occasionally introduced for the depraved purpose of representing the more famous Brahmins as the direct progenitors of the more famous Rajas. Again, Rajas are described as paying a reverence to Brahmins amounting to worship, and as rewarding them with extravagant profusion, probably as examples for later Brahmins to follow."—Page 38.

We are not satisfied that these criteria are always decisive. Abruptness and absurdity pervade the whole poem. Brahmins in the earliest Vedic times were believed to possess miraculous powers. Immoral acts are attributed to the Kshetriyas as well as the Brahmins. Rajas in the earliest times paid an almost divine worship to the Brahmins. Allowing, however, that it is possible roughly to separate the earlier portions of the poem

from the later, we doubt if it can be done in detail. Max Müller has recorded it as his opinion that, "there is no hope that we shall ever succeed by critical researches in restoring the Bhárata to that primitive form and shape in which it may have existed before or at the time of Asvaláyana." (Sans. Lit., page 43.) Mr. Wheeler himself admits occasional failures :—

"Fortunately for the purposes of history, the Brahmanical interpolations can be generally detected by the supernatural character of the details, and may therefore be largely eliminated, excepting in those cases where the later fable has been so intertwined with the more authentic narrative, that it is impossible to separate the one from the other without danger of mutilating the original Kshetriya tradition." —Page 38.

"The worship of Krishna was adopted by the Brahmins, and the Brahmanical compilers of the Mahá Bhárata especially inculcated the worship of Krishna as an incarnation of Vishnu. Accordingly, throughout the Mahá Bhárata, they have endeavoured to combine, as far as possible, the traditionary history of Krishna with that of those who fought in the Great War, much in the same manner as they have brought in the mythical history of Vyása. There is, however, a difference in the two attempts, which is highly significant. The traditions of Krishna are, to a great extent, historical and true to human nature; but those relating to Vyása are mythical interventions of a supernatural character. The result is, that while it is easy to eliminate the myths relating to Vyása, it is difficult to separate the traditions of Krishna from those of Bhárata; and thus, while it is impossible to avoid the conviction that there is no real connection between the two series, it is better, where absolute proof is not forthcoming, to allow the connection to stand."

The absolute proof here intended is evidently the supernatural character of the details. But the purest Kshetriya legends which are free from all Brahmanical allusions, are often supernatural. So that this criterion is not an absolute proof.

The admissions of occasional failure to separate the early portions of the poem are ominous of serious consequences. The traditions of Krishna cannot thoroughly be separated from those of Bhárata: and as Krishna is an historical character, and as his traditions are the most recent of the two, it is more likely that the older legend was altered to suit the new than the new the old. And an alteration of such a kind, and for such a purpose, must have been radical, or the adaptation could not have been effected. There was no danger then of "mutilating the original Kshetriya tradition," because it must have been hopelessly mutilated already, or the connection that we now have could never have been accomplished. And, if the original traditions have been so mauled in some places, *what has defended them in all the others?*

Besides the failures which Mr. Wheeler has admitted, we are not quite sure that in every case he is entitled to the successes which he claims to have achieved. Take for instance the first legend in the volume — the birth of Raja Bhárata. In this legend, Durvásas is a Brahman sage, and must be eliminated, because the incident is supernatural. By this elimination the legend is supposed to have been restored to its original Kshetriya purity. But in our opinion the restoration is far from satisfactory. The Kshetriya Raja is after all described as marrying a Brahman maid and making her his Rani. If a Brahman maid is allowed to remain, why should a Brahman sage be eliminated? The alleged superiority of the ancient Kshetriya Rajas to the Brahman priests, and the fame of the royal house of Bhárata, are sufficiently lowered already in the estimation of posterity without the need of Brahmanical compilers to invent the curse of Durvásas.

V. Our objections to Mr. Wheeler's principles of criticism are fully confirmed by the character of the history which he has invited us to read. The history that he has attempted to extract, appears to us to be essentially improbable. This is no doubt a matter of opinion rather than a matter of fact which cannot be contradicted. We shall leave the reader to judge whether he thinks the legends we are about to select, sound like serious realities.

Turning once more to the legend of the birth of Raja Bhárata, we shall quote the tale in its corrected form ; that is, when the curse of Durvásas has been eliminated, and the story has been thus made "natural and historical."

"Once upon a time the valiant Raja Dushyanta was hunting in the forest, when he beheld the beautiful Sakuntalá ; and he prevailed on the damsel to become his wife by a Gandharva marriage, and gave her his ring as a pledge of his troth. Then Dushyanta returned to his own city, while Sakuntalá remained in the hermitage of her father. And Sakuntalá found she was with child, and she set off for the palace of her husband\* \* \* (*who conveniently forgot his vow, not liking to own the daughter of a despised priest ; and Sakuntalá had unfortunately lost her ring.*) But the Raja would not own her to be his wife ; and her mother came and carried her away to the jungle, and there she gave birth to a son, who was named Bhárata. And the Raja went into the jungle and saw the boy Bhárata sporting with young lions, and setting at nought the lioness that gave them suck ; and his heart turned toward the lad ; and presently he beheld the sorrowing Sakuntalá (*who in the meanwhile had found her ring*), and he knew that Sakuntalá was his wife and Bhárata his son. So Raja Dushyanta took Sakuntalá and Bhárata to his own city ; and he made Sakuntalá his chief Rani, and appointed Bhárata to succeed him in the Raj."

This tale, in our opinion, is about as probable as the story of the birth of Romulus. The she-wolf which suckled Romulus could not have been less carnivorous than the lioness who reluctantly allowed her young to be the play-mates of Bhārata. A child in the jungle becomes an adept in an art of taming lions. The only fact worth knowing in the mutilated tale, is the meaning of the institution which is called Gandharva marriage. Before it was mutilated, it taught us another fact—the efficacy ascribed to a Brahman's curse.

If there is one event in the volume before us which ought to sound historical, it is the story of the Great War, or the battle of Kurukshetra. This event is the main subject of the poem, and the climax of all the feuds which had been dividing the royal family. And yet there is no event in the whole poem so full of historical difficulties. So unmanageable did Mr. Wheeler find it, that he has not attempted to correct it with half the freedom that he has used elsewhere. He has prefaced his narrative with various suggestions and explanations; but as he has not materially altered the original accounts, the reader must apply them mentally as well as he can. We are admonished "that the original story was probably told in a series of war ballads, narrating at some length the combats between the more celebrated warriors, and the many turns in the progress of the struggle." (Page 288.) But this hypothesis does not help us in reading the accounts of the battle. We are advised in another place "that the war is said to have lasted eighteen days; and though it was probably included within a much more restricted period, yet for the present the term of eighteen days may be accepted."

This appears to us to be shirking the historical difficulties and acknowledging defeat. It is easy to reduce vast armies to moderate dimensions; to eliminate the most glaring of the supernatural details; to strip the warriors of half their strength, their weapons, elephants, and ornaments; and to dismiss the distant Rajas as unnecessary intruders. But it is admitted after all, "that it is impossible on all occasions to separate the mythical from the real;" the absurdity of warriors fighting for eighteen days together is not removed; the ground plan of the story is not materially altered; and the final absurdity of burying the corpses which had been lying for eighteen days on the ground, is left "unsolved, as a question of no importance."

Again, if we look to the causes of the war, they appear out of all proportion to its fierceness and magnitude:—

"The Kaurāvas were in possession of the Raj, and had succeeded for a long period in excluding their kinsmen from any share in the possession,

The Pandavas, with the exception of their timid elder brother, were like starving men fighting for the means of subsistence, and to some extent they may have been actuated by a desire to avenge the affront inflicted upon Draupadi.”—(Page 287.)

Again, the character of the war appears to us to be too mean for the dignity of history :—

“Throughout the narrative there is not a single reference to nationality, patriotism, religion, or sentiment. The war was neither a contest against a foreign invader, nor an internal struggle against a tyrant, nor a loyal rising in favour of a deposed ruler, nor a crusade in behalf of religion, nor even an aggression for the sake of land. It was a war to the knife between near kinsmen for the sake of land, and it was but little redeemed by those bright ideas of right and justice, which occasionally elevate warriors into heroes, and convert the bloody conflict of armies into a final and solemn appeal to the God of battles.”—(Page 287.)

In short, the outline, the causes, and the character of the battle of Kurukshetra, as they have been submitted to us by Mr. Wheeler, have not added anything to our belief in the reality of its occurrence ; or rather, waiving the question whether such a battle ever occurred or not, (a question which we do not pretend to answer,) we cannot, as we read the corrected version of the battle, bring it home to our minds in such a way as to be able to realize its occurrence or appreciate its historical signification ; we cannot read it with the profit, interest, and instruction which can be derived from studying the great battles of history ; it does not improve our knowledge of mankind, or leave any practical lesson behind it : it possesses to our minds neither the charm of legend nor the reality of fact. But further, if Mr. Wheeler's version be ever so correct and true, it does not add much to our knowledge of the political history of Ancient Hindostan. The war of Bhārata is a mere fragment in the history of so great a country ; it gives us no chronological landmarks ; it covers the period of a single generation ; it comes abruptly before our view, telling us nothing of the times preceding ; and, when it vanishes with the life-time of the five Pandavas, it leaves us in total darkness as to the times which succeeded to it.

Instead of making vain attempts to dig for a supposed historical basis, much more success can be expected in reproducing what the legends teach us of primitive manners and institutions, and hence discovering the sentiments which guided the conduct of men in their domestic, social, religious, and political relations. Internal criticism is fully equal to such a task, as it has proved to be in the hands of Mr. Wheeler himself. The inner meaning and spirit of the legends can be elicited

equally well, if no attempts are made at correcting their matter. Grote was not discouraged or deterred from his delineation of the manners and customs of the Homeric age, while he distinctly disowned the historical credibility of Homer. When events are false or mythical, the manners at least are true and genuine ; and even history at its best gives a better account of the character of an age, than it does of the events themselves.

To solve the historical intricacies of such a book as the *Mahā Bhārata*, it needs the aid of some parallel historical record, whose statements are all clear and consecutive, and whose accounts are all reliable. Internal evidence cannot advance one step toward historical reproduction without the aid of external reference. The axe which is to be laid to the root of the tree, must be of a sharper, harder, and stronger material than the tree itself. But as long as the critic is forced to draw all his arguments from the same matter as that which he is attempting to solve, he has no safe ground to tread upon, and no certain aim to pursue. Blind arguments are made to support a blind hypothesis, and both fall into the ditch.

The insufficiency of the Rationalistic method is further proved by the experience of admitted failure in the numerous attempts which have been made to rationalize the Trojan War. If all the hypothetical versions of that war, from the version of Thucydides to those of the latest modern scholars, were compared, how many would agree ? Not one. And yet if they are what they each profess to be, they ought not to differ, but to agree ; for there cannot be more than one true history of the same event. Again, if they were added together, and all the points in which they differ were cancelled ; how much would be left ? Nothing. This is the crowning result of the Rationalistic method. It loses the point of view in which the legends were beheld by the original observers ; and gives in return for it no consistent point of view which we can call our own. It aims at reproducing and restoring to life ; but it effects a wholesale massacre.

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- ART. IV.—1 *Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, Abroad and at Home.* By Mrs. Jameson. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1855.
2. *Praying and Working, being some account of what men can do when in earnest.* By the Rev. William Fleming Stevenson, Dublin. London: Alexander, Strahan & Co. 1862.
3. *The Employment of Women in Religious and Charitable Works: A Lecture delivered before the Bethune Society, the 5th April, 1866.* By George Edward Lynch Cotton, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta. Published by desire of the Society. 1866.
4. *The Church and the World: Essays on Questions of the Day.* By various Writers, edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M. A., London: Longmans, Green, Readen, and Dyer. 1866.
5. *Ditto ditto ditto ditto*, 1867.

THE works specified above show that the employment of women in religious and charitable works is one of the questions of the day. Our readers, therefore, will not be surprised to find in our columns some remarks upon the subject. The Protestant Churches in their various branches and diversities of form, are evidently making an effort to recover what they have not had since the Reformation—Societies of women set apart and systematically organised for the performance of religious and charitable works. Nor can any one fail to be struck with the wondrous unanimity as to the end aimed at, which prevails among men who, on many points of doctrine and ritual, are almost as wide apart as the poles. For once, high and low, broad and narrow, Lutheran and Calvinist, are all agreed. "Sisterhoods are good things: society is suffering sadly from 'the want of them: Sisterhoods we must have.'" The consequence is, that Sisterhoods in various forms have come into existence, and are beginning gradually to work their way into life and form, and promise, and unless something very extraordinary should happen to cast a blight upon them, to become permanent institutions. It seems worth while, therefore, enquiring—"Shall we vote success to Sisterhoods or not? Are they parts

" of a bye-gone age rendered unnecessary by the purification which the Church underwent at the Reformation, or are they accessories of service and ministration, which the Church must ever be sadly crippled if it is without? Are the Protestant Churches, in consequence of this feeling cropping up so generally and increasingly among them, as it has done, in an abnormal, decaying, and unhealthy condition? Can Protestant communities, constituted as they are, manage to organise such Societies, and keep them on foot till they have produced anything like lasting benefit? Must Protestant Churches, of necessity, either fail to sustain them, or so far forfeit their forms of faith and profession, as to assimilate almost indefinitely to the Church of Rome?"

We shall endeavour to give a sketch of the history of Sisterhoods so far as we have materials at command; and then we will leave our readers to determine the above points for themselves. To begin, then, at the beginning, it is perfectly plain from the pages of the New Testament, that the services of women in the Church were accepted and valued from the very commencement of the Gospels existence, Phœbe, the servant (in the Greek 'deaconess') of the Church at Cenchrea, is alluded to by the Apostle Paul, and her commendation is expressed in these words: "She hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also." In the same chapter as that in which Phœbe's name occurs, Romans XVI., there are found also the names of seven other women,\* whose work "is characterized generally by the expression of "labouring in the Lord." We cannot tell exactly what forms that labour took, there can be little doubt, however, but that it was of that kind alluded to by Christ when he said, "I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me." In other words, the office of the deaconess was one of active charity. She was a dispenser of the Church's alms—a minister of Christian consolation—a carrier of the glad tidings of salvation wherever a way was opened up to her. Her office was, in a womanly way, to preach the Gospel to the poor; to bind up the broken-hearted; to comfort them that mourn. The case of Dorcas, which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, is one instance of the particular form which her work would take; and we have an example, even earlier than that, in those women from Galilee of whom we read in the Gospels, who followed Jesus and ministered unto him of their substance. It was evidently

for works of this kind that St. Paul, as we read in I Cor., VII. 40, wished widows to remain as they were, and not to re-marry; and it is abundantly evident from what we read in I Timothy, 5-9, as to a woman being taken into the number or roll of widows, that even in the Apostle's time the deaconess' work and service had been organised, and reduced into such a form and shape as would be likely to make their institution permanent. And such we find it to have been for many generations after Apostolic times, so much so that a species of solemn ordination to the office was introduced with prayer and fasting, and imposition of hands. Notices are found of certain regulations as to the age at which a deaconess should be admitted; whether she must necessarily be a widow; or whether virgins also might be admitted to the office. Regulations are found as to their proper duties, such as to act as sponsors to orphans in baptism, to seat the women in church, to visit female hospitals, to attend women in child-birth or sickness, to visit those imprisoned on account of their faith. Thus, then, in the earliest ages of Christianity, when the faith of her martyrs was tried sorely by persecution, and when the mighty ocean of heathenism, was all around the Church's ark, threatening again and again to engulf and overwhelm it, we have every evidence that deaconesses were an institution, and that they did most faithful and valuable service. Surely then, this fact is an answer to the question, Can Sisterhoods exist in the Church of England in the present day? The Church of England is strictly Apostolic in constitution, and professes to be regulated on the model of the New Testament and of the earliest ages; and if Sisterhoods existed then, they can surely do so now, without there being the slightest necessity to alter the Church's frame-work and organisation. But another question will naturally suggest itself if we grant the above; and that is, how came it to pass that, after the commencement of the seventh century, we find no more mention of Sisterhoods in the Eastern Church, and after a few generations more, no mention of them in their original form in the Western Church? We fear the answer is, that, in the corruptions and quarrels of Christendom, their bright light, in company with many other things that, beautify and adorn, perished and went out. We know that at the commencement of the seventh century, the scourge of Mahometanism was let loose upon the Eastern Church, and we also know that her Western Sister soon after became enveloped in the blackness of the dark

ages, when he who was nominally Christ's Viceregent upon earth, was utterly impotent to restrain the current of iniquity, even if he had had the inclination to do so; when the morals of both priests and people were at the lowest ebb; and when the better part of humanity who had the fear of God before their eyes trembled, lest the crash of doom should burst upon the world. It is no marvel then in such times as these if we should read nothing of deaconesses, and the conclusion that we draw from the case being, as it stands, is this: No argument as to the growth and development of the Christian Church rendering deaconesses unnecessary, can be drawn from the fact that their name perishes in Christian records before the tenth century. Nay, rather their absence from the rolls of the Church is only one additional indication of its lifeless lethargy and abnormal state. For, it is to be observed that as soon as ever the Church begins again to show signs of vitality, deaconesses re-appear in a form consonant with the fashion and spirit of the age, but still in such a shape that we can clearly identify them as endeavouring to fulfil, according to their opportunities and light, the objects of their original institution. Far be it from us to quarrel with Hildebrand on every count, and to say, as some are found to do, that he was a species of Anti-Christ, an opponent of all righteousness, a tyrant, an oppressor, an initiator of a soul-destroying system which contradicts nature, and makes nothing but hypocrites, liars and impostors, who pretend to be able to uphold the world, but only make it more grovelling and debased through the deception that they palm off upon it, and the shams and cheats and jugglings which they exhibit before its eyes. The fact is, Hildebrand, in our view of him, was an earnest, enthusiastic, and devoted reformer, who keenly realized the evils of his time, and was most anxious to battle with them and subdue them. It may be quite true that his system is false to human nature, and therefore cannot possibly stand the lapse of a great length of time; but it is very questionable whether at the period in which he lived, it was not the only possible means of stopping the overflowing stream of iniquity, and giving it a turn in the right direction. The only chance for habitual drunkards is total abstinence, and so the only chance for the Christian world in Hildebrand's time, was a re-enactment of some severe system which might resemble the Mosaic Law in its strictness and decidedly prohibitive character. Positive Gospel precepts had lost their force in the general licence. "Thou shalt not!" was again to be the order of

the day. Hence, when Sisterhoods revived they partook of this total abstinence character. "The love of Christ constraineth us" was no longer a sufficient motive for a thoroughly devoted and religious life. "Thou shalt not marry, or, if thou dost, thou shalt be buried alive!" This was the rule to which the revived deaconess was to bind herself. It may seem strange that under such a Draconian code as this, the old institution should have ever been able to lift up its head at all; yet so determined was the spirit of the time, and so excellent were the intentions of these warm-hearted devotees in their endeavours to pitchfork nature clean away, that multitudes enrolled themselves under the banner of perennial chastity, and there soon arose a plentiful crop of Benedictines, Ursulans, Franciscans, Nuns white, black, and grey, thoroughly impressed with the idea, that they were the genuine and decided followers of their original sisters in the purest and earliest ages of the Christian Church. It is not our intention to go at any length into the history of Nunneries, or to argue out the question as to whether, upon the whole, they have been productive of more evil than good. Some persons we are aware, think that their secret records would not bear a strict examination; but they can scarcely be so altogether bad, or they would never have existed for so long a period, without going utterly to pieces. So long as they have been occupied in active habits of usefulness, such as nursing in hospitals, taking care of orphans, and educating the young, we can quite believe that multitudes of women may have found in them purity, peace of mind, and a fair field of excellent and happy usefulness. Those who have known convents well have told us that to some women the life of seclusion and religious exercises, entirely apart from the noisy world, becomes, after a few years, as natural as its life of confinement is to a caged bird; and that they never seem to harbour a wish or a thought beyond it; but they have also added, that this is by no means the case with all, and that there are plenty of unquiet spirits who feel their everlasting vows to have been a mistake. It should be mentioned, however, that even in that branch of the Church which has most freely administered these life-long vows, there is found one sisterhood which has existed for more than two centuries and in which no vows at all are taken. This is the well-known *Société des Beguins*, who are found in considerable numbers in Burges, Ghent, Brussels, and other towns of Belgium. It is stated that, although these sisters take nothing upon themselves beyond a determination, so long as God may enable them to do so, to devote themselves to a life of active Christian charity, the

cases are most rare in which, when they have once undertaken it, they abandon it. It may well be asked, when there is such an excellent living example that life-long vows are unnecessary, why administer them at all; and most sincerely do we hope that, as Sisterhoods become more and more general in the Church of England—as they promise to do,—their initiators and managers will steer clear of this practice. Sisterhoods should be voluntary associations entered into and maintained by a spirit of pure love and self-devotion. It must be allowed, however, in spite of their taking perpetual vows, that in many cases, when they lead active lives of charity, the work done by nuns appears to be good. We have seen some hospitals, and we have heard of more, where the sisters of charity work, in which their services are most highly valued both by the Medical staff and by the patients; and we have often been through hospitals, and workhouses, and poor schools where we should have been indeed glad to find a little more of the pastor-hearted sister and a little less of the hard-hearted hireling than we have done. It has often been held out as a discredit to the Protestant Churches, that they have never been able to organize sisterhoods, but it must be remembered that there were really numbers of sisters in fact, though not in name, in the shape of devoted women here and there, of all ranks and conditions in life, among whom the sincere spirit of deep personal piety had supplied the lack of special calling, or of taking the veil. Many wives of the reformed clergy have been, and are still, most true sisters of charity; and from their being more completely in the world and not of the world than a professed sister is, their example is in many respects of even greater value than that of a religieuse by name and calling; but still it may be acknowledged as somewhat of a reproach, that the efforts of Protestants were so spasmodic and occasional, and there was so little of permanence and system about them. A saintly woman here and there did what she could, but when she died her work went to pieces, for there was no one to take it up and carry it on. There can be little doubt but that the Reformed Churches considered the life-long vows unlawful, and shrank from administering them; and it does not appear to have occurred to them that possibly the work might be done just as well without vows at all. At last, however, one of these saintly women of whom we have been speaking, our country-woman, Mrs. Fry, whose work a German Pastor\*

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\* Mr. Flinduer.

upon a visit to England examined into, suggested to this pious soul the idea of attempting a Sisterhood upon the pure Apostolic model, and he went back to Dusseldorf full of good resolves to carry his idea into practical effect. He began with only half a dozen sisters, and set them to work in his hospital for the poor, which he had established close to his dwelling; then he founded an orphanage, and set others to work in that; then he organised a band of sisters to visit the poor in their homes; and so, gradually and by slow and painstaking steps, he took up all the various fields of active Christian usefulness where woman's hand is most potent for good. He began in 1847, and now after just 20 years, his success is far beyond all reasonable doubt. His Institution has cast off seedlings in all directions; in Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Petersburg, and many other of the principal towns in Europe, in Constantinople, in the Levant, in Egypt, and various other parts and places, he has sent out off-shoots and raised up imitators. Our own country-woman, Miss Nightingale, before she went to the Crimea, spent some time in examining his labours at Kaiserwerth and learning what she could from them; and it was her example in the Crimean war, which gave such a wide-spread impulse to the movement which is now so sensibly felt in every part of England. It is true that some of the Sisterhoods in England had already arisen before Miss Nightingale appeared on the field; but it was her name which first turned the current of popular feeling in their favour, and brought all parties to that general state of accord in which they are at present, that Sisterhoods ought to be organised, and were capable, under proper control and management, of unmixed benefit to all classes of the community. Hence it has come to pass since the period of the Crimean war, that Sisterhoods have made a great advance in popular favour, and have come into definite shape in various places under every species of patronage. The High Church Sisterhoods have usually taken a more distinctive outward form, and have adopted titles which have served to distinguish them and bring them out into clear relief; but the Low Church party have not been inactive, and, with less parade, have been doing precisely the same kind of work. The sisters at East Grinstead, at Clewer, at Highgate and elsewhere, have already organised themselves, and, with their orphanages, penitentiaries, and nursing operations, have set themselves thoroughly to work, and got into general grace and favour; and in London, Birmingham, and other populous towns, the Low Church party have hired rooms and houses, and organised female agencies which are

not likely to die. For ourselves, looking at these things as we do from a distance, we confess that we prefer the High Church model. It is more decided in character, and has taken a shape which promises more permanence than appears to attach to the organisations of the other party; but we wish each party success. Their work is a good one, and with proper superintendence and management, is sure to prosper and do good. And now the question arises—are such organisations possible in India? Is there a field for them? Is there material for them, and what form can they take so as to prosper? We think that all these questions may be answered in the affirmative, and this we must now, in conclusion, endeavour to prove. We “have already answered the objection which might be offered, that as Sisterhoods existed in the early Church and died out, their existence has been proved to be either harmful or superfluous, and we have shown that their absence during a certain period of the Christian Church’s history, is only a proof of the Church being lethargic, torpid, and careless, and not up to the work which properly becomes her as a friend to the poor, the sick, and the unfortunate. If any doubt again existed as to whether Sisterhoods were possible without life-long vows to which, we believe, all Protestants conscientiously object, recent events, as well as the existence of the Beguins Sisterhood and that of Kaiserwerth, show most plainly that such institutions can and do exist by means of the pure spirit of Charity and Christian Love. We have only therefore, as it appears to us, to look out for suitable fields and localities of labour, to point out what has to be done, and to provide a central institution which women, charitably disposed, may make their home and starting place, to give the system a fair chance of bearing its precious fruits in Indian soil. And here the Roman Catholic Church has already given us an example of what may be done. She has convents in various places throughout India, in which members of Protestant children are being educated. It is a shame and disgrace to Protestantism that such a state of things should continue. The children of her form of faith ought to be able to find schools as good and as cheap as any sister Church’s may be; and this, as it appears to us, they never possibly can do, until Protestant Sisterhoods are in an active and efficient state. The Roman Catholic Church has also several orphanages at Agra, Patna, Calcutta, and elsewhere, which do an immense amount of good, and which are worked by their sisters. It may be doubted, perhaps, whether a portion of their educational zeal, which, as it stands, is worthy of all praise and commendation, might not more profitably turn itself into a more thorough and



efficient supervision of their poor, whose bad lives are a great scandal and stumbling-block in the eyes of the native population, and a decided obstacle to the progress and spread of Christianity around them. Protestantism appears to us to do her work for her poor better; but in the matter of education she has certainly something to learn from the Roman Catholics. But to return to the question—where are we to begin? What is the kind of work which is in the first instance most likely to attract Protestant sisters of charity? We see no reason why it might not commence with charity schools, in the matter of which it has already happily made a beginning, although we do not care to allude to the particular cases which we have in mind. It has, however, been our privilege to see more than one living instance of what may be done in this field; and in such a field there is always this advantage,—the home and dwelling place for the sisters is there; the work is close at hand before them. It only needs piety, prayer, and love to bring forth all its precious fruits, and to make it prosper. In the matter of Zenana teaching also, which has a kind of romance about it, rendering it attractive, Protestantism is making good advances. In Delhi, Benares, Lucknow, Calcutta, ladies are at work as unpaid and voluntary agents, and are getting much influence both with those whom they seek to benefit, and with that portion of the public who cares anything about their labours. We much wish that the staff of Hospital Nurses could be organised under the same kind of agency, having a lady who would work for pure love's sake at its head, and who would infuse into the staff that would be under her management and control, some of her own spirit and principle. Our hospital nurses at present are too much of the hireling order, and although in many cases they do their work well, we hear frequent complaints of their conduct in the matter of habits of intemperance and other evil courses, which the constant presence among them of an element of higher order would go far to check and remove. It has been suggested to us, that District visiting might be taken up as another field for charitable work of the kind which we are advocating. If this were done, we think the best plan would be to locate one or two sisters in each station, where a Chaplain might require their services, and to place them under his control. The commencement of everything, however, must be a central institution in or near Calcutta, under the superintendence and control of two or three well-trained and experienced sisters imported from England. The very name of

the conquests which they might win in this cradle of the arts and sciences, ought to attract some of the best names which England can boast. At all events let the experiment be tried. Let Bishop Milman and a few others in high quarters, only invite the agents to come out, and give them a fair start, and we fully believe that they will succeed in making their way.

## GOVERNORS AND GOVERNED.

ART. V.—*Correspondence regarding the comparative merits of British and Native Administration in India.*  
 Printed by Order of the Government of India :  
 Calcutta, 1867.

THE Government of India considers it expedient at the present time to maintain an army of about sixty thousand Europeans, and a hundred and twenty thousand natives. This force it keeps up, not for pleasure or for show, that men may play at being soldiers, as is the case with native Princes' troops, but because the position of Englishmen in India is deemed to be insecure without its existence. It constitutes in fact an item, and a very considerable one, in the cost at which we purchase our supremacy. Probably, if he could get his own way, the Commander-in-Chief would be inclined to have even more regiments under his command than he has. But this, apart from the question of expenditure, is impossible. England cannot spare us more of her sons, and our policy forbids us to allow an undue development of the military element amongst the various races of the country. We must, therefore, perforce be satisfied with our lot. As we stand, we are not absolutely proof against the attacks of enemies, either at home or from abroad, but at any rate we do not think that we are running a very extraordinary risk. We deprecate another mutiny as the most terrible calamity that could befall us, but we have no anxiety about the probable result of such a struggle. We would rather not have war with the Russians in Central Asia, and we still incline to the belief that they are advancing towards us in the interests of peace. If they aim simply at extending trade, there is room enough for us both. But if they are influenced by less worthy motives, we do not despair of being able to defend our frontier. It would be pleasant, no doubt, to render ourselves quite safe against rebellion and invasion, but this is a hopeless ideal in any one's case, and, like our neighbours, we can do no more than make the best of our resources. Still it would be most unwise to forget the *raison d'être* of our army, or to ignore that in India we stand or fall by the sword. We are

accustomed to justify our presence on political and commercial grounds. We maintain that we can govern our subjects better than they have ever been able to govern themselves; and that the natural consequence of our dominion has been a gradual accumulation of riches, such as was unknown under the happiest circumstances of former days. But do we not sometimes overlook the fact that, without an army militant, we should not have made good our footing in the first instance; and without an army of occupation we should not be inculcating that respect for order, without which a general diffusion of wealth is impossible? We have been true to the conquerors' tradition, and have wielded our sledge hammers right well. From our own point of view, nothing could be more satisfactory. We consider that we have benefited others whilst benefiting ourselves. Unquestionably this is true; but whether the natives share our complacency is altogether another matter. In the face of the large standing army which it is incumbent on his Government to retain, the Viceroy lately took occasion to intimate his opinion that, on the whole, the "masses of the people are incontestably more prosperous; and (*sua si bona norint,*) far more happy in British territory than they are "under native rulers." In order to test the correctness of his views, he called upon a large number of his subordinate Officers to draw up any statements on the subject, which their experience might enable them to furnish. Their answers are contained in the volume of which we have given the title at the head of this article; and the list of those who have sent in reports, including as it does Representatives from each of the three Presidencies,—Collectors and Settlement Officers, as well as Chief Commissioners and Political Agents,—is a sufficient proof of Sir John Lawrence's wish to have the most complete expression of opinion that he could ensure.

The challenge for this enquiry came unwillingly, as we think, from an English statesman. In the course of a debate which occurred in the House of Commons about a year ago, Lord Cranborne, referred incidentally to the rival merits of British and native rule. Such different constructions have been put upon his words, that we prefer to quote them *in extenso*. The *Times* of May 25th, 1867, is our authority for the extract:

"The general opinion of those who knew India best, was that a number of small, well-governed States were in the highest degree conducive both to the political and moral advancement of the people. Mr. Laing, arguing in what he

(Lord Cranborne) might call the strong official line, had seemed to represent everything as bright in the British territories, and everything as dark in the native dominions. But though cases like Oude could be quoted in support of that view, he doubted whether such a contrast could be established in India at the present time. If Oude could be quoted against the native Governments, he feared that in a few days Honourable Members, with the Report on the Orissa famine in their hands, would find a more terrible example to be adduced against the English rule. The facts were, that the faults of the two systems were of an entirely different kind. The British Government was never guilty of the violence and illegality practised by native rulers, but it had faults which, though far more guiltless in intention, were far more terrible in effect. A listless, heavy heedlessness, the fear of responsibility, extreme centralization,—all these causes not traceable to the moral fault of any man, yet often combining to produce a considerable amount of inefficiency, and, if reinforced by natural causes, creating a terrible amount of misery, must be taken into consideration when comparing the elaborate and artificial English system, with the rough and ready method of native Government. There was no doubt that in great emergencies—unless we happened to have men of very peculiar character upon the spot—the simpler forms of Oriental Government would, on the whole, produce\* effects more salutary than our own more elaborate system. He was not, of course, for a moment denying that our mission in India was to produce order, to civilize, and to develop a system of native Government; but he certainly denounced the wholesale condemnation of that native system which, though it would be perfectly intolerable on our own soil, having grown up among the people subjected to it, had a fitness and geniality which we, indeed, could not realize, but which compensated in some degree for the material evils which its rudeness often induced. A distinguished Member of the Council of India, Sir G. Clerk, had told him of a fact illustrating this. There was a particular province in which the English and native jurisdictions were much intermixed, so that the natives having little to carry with them, could easily migrate, from one to the other; and whereas they frequently migrated from English to native territory, Sir G. Clerk had never heard an instance of migration from native to English territory. This might show exceedingly bad taste on the part of the natives, but it was for us to consider what promoted this happiness, suited their tastes, and tended to their moral development

in their own way; and if we endeavoured merely to develop their moral nature after the fashion of the Anglo-Saxon race, the result would be conspicuous and disastrous failure."

Judging from this extract, we are inclined to think that Lord Cranborne wished to compare our form of Government—which some amongst us maintain to be very good—with a good native Government, which can exist and has existed. This in truth is the only comparison which could warrant a decision in favour of either nation's superiority as administrators. To contrast the present condition of affairs in the territories of British India with the bad Government which is now the rule rather than the exception in native States, would be as unjust as to compare Hindustan under Feroze III, with England under Richard II. Such a course gives no common starting point for argument, and if the issues are not first settled, the decision must necessarily be partial. But our construction is evidently not that which the Viceroy put upon Lord Cranborne's remarks, and the key-note which he struck has been harmoniously followed by many of his correspondents. The comparison instituted by the majority has been, so to say, *de haut en bas*, for they have drawn their conclusions by weighing material prosperity, which is unattainable without stability of power, against the abuse of authority, which is not an inevitable consequence of native rule. From such a vantage ground the verdict is naturally favourable to ourselves, but none the less illogical. Not that we mean to imply by this, that the enquiry has been without use. On the contrary, our previous suspicion of the prejudices which many classes of natives entertain against our system has been confirmed, and if it had answered no other purpose, the publication of the correspondence would have been valuable on this account alone.

It certainly seems, at first sight, rather a quaint proceeding to ask a number of Officers to report on their own popularity, for this virtually was the effect of the Viceroy's Circular. Such a style of investigation, if universally pursued, would, we fear, on many occasions prove ineffectual, not to say absurd. As a general rule, the individual is the last person whom we should expect to be an impartial discerner of his own merits, and self-analysis is still the hardest lesson that mankind has to learn. We are all of us so inclined to consider our own geese swans, though only prepared to allow the force of the impeachment against our neighbours. The habit extends to our public acts, and a tendency to assert the superiority of his own judgment, is one of the first characteristics of a man in

power. The mode of enquiry, therefore, being such as it was, it was a natural consequence that the oracle should not be over-modest. Nor do we see how Lord Cranborne's statement, or rather the Viceroy's interpretation of it, could have been tested in any other way. Some critics have deplored that native opinion was not consulted also. We certainly do not share in their regret. Had Sir John Lawrence sought such counsel on a large scale, he would have burdened himself with a mass of nonsensical answers, or if he had confined the invitation to a few, he would have fairly laid himself open to the charge of choosing only willing seconders of his own opinion. We venture to say that we could count on our fingers the names of those natives who were likely to throw any light on the subject. The Government is so far fortunate, that the ideas of Sir Salar Jung, one of the most liberal-minded of native statesmen, have been embodied in Sir Richard Temple's paper, and we owe the latter no small tribute of thanks for having frequently indicated the source of his information. Sir Dinkur Rao, Sir Jung Bahadoor, and Rajah Deo Narain Singh of Benares might have been referred to with advantage; but exclusively of them, we fail at the moment to recall the name of any other individual in whose competency to judge we should have much confidence. Therefore, under the circumstances, we are disposed to think that the Viceroy took a prudent course in restricting the enquiry to British Officers.

Our immediate business, however, lies with the discussion that Sir John Lawrence has really initiated. The issue, according to the Viceroy's statement of the case is, which of the two—British or native administration, as each actually exists—has most charm for the people of this country at the present day? The question is not whether this or that man is discontented, not whether this or that class, from feelings of lawlessness, ambition, or what not, is disappointed at the small chance of success that presents itself under our régime, but whether throughout India there is a preponderating desire for and acquiescence in our rule; and, if not, whether in those instances in which we do not meet the just expectations of the people, we might learn a lesson from the practice of native States? The Empire which we owe to the sword we continue to administer from motives of benevolence, not unmingled with a love of substantial reward; for wherever we go, we never shake off our shop-keeping character. As kindly disposed rulers, therefore, it is our duty,

consistently with those principles of justice which a civilized community cannot dare to overlook, to build up such a form of Government as will be most congenial to our subjects. We must discountenance Sutte, but we need not introduce all the intricacies of English law. And in estimating the merits of one system against the other, we must take care not to confound material prosperity with happiness. The two are in no way synonymous. In affairs of State, prosperity is the test of superior management, and happiness of popularity. A clear distinction of the terms is necessary, before we can hope to arrive at a true solution of the problem.

No one, we imagine, will gainsay the assertion that India has attained a high degree of prosperity under our rule. Let us recall for a few moments the condition of things at the beginning of this century in those parts of the Peninsula which were in our possession. Trade was virtually in the hands of monopolists. Popular education had not been thought of. There were no roads, no stage carriages, no means of travelling or of transmitting goods, except that which the primitive conveyances of the natives and the great streams of the country afforded. The Resident who was appointed, we will say, to Furrackabad, took some three months to join his station, and reckoned his travelling bill at two thousand Rupees. His way lay along one of the most navigable of Indian rivers, but he could journey only by day, and had not even the advantage of a steamer to lessen the weariness of the voyage. Arrived at his destination, he would probably find that the collection of the revenue, which was henceforth to be his most particular care, was attended with every conceivable sort of difficulty. Landholders were refractory, and native nobles rebellious, and it was only the presence of the soldiery that could ensure the punctual liquidation of instalments. On the border there was constantly the fear of the Mahrattas before his eyes, and at his own door-step the corruption and machinations of Court officials to contend with. The distance that separated him from head quarters made communication by letter slow and uncertain. Much, consequently, was left to his own discretion. Yet, despite the necessity that often arose for prompt action, he not unfrequently incurred unmerited rebuke from his superiors. On the whole, an Indian Officer's lines were not cast in very pleasant places sixty years ago. He was an exile from home, isolated generally from his compatriots in this country, and surrounded on all sides by men whom he could not trust. And now what



is the aspect of affairs? Lord Dalhousie's scheme for a network of railways has nearly been realized, and there is every reason to hope that the works which still remain to make India strategically secure and communication complete, will shortly be sanctioned. Subordinate to the railways are the larger rivers, whose courses have been either found naturally, or been made by art, available for navigation, and the various canals, which when connected with each other, will be invaluable as high ways of commerce, irrespectively of the benefit which they now bestow as channels of irrigation. To these must be added a system of metalled and unmetalled roads which intersect, more or less minutely, every district in our territories. The result has been an impulse to agriculture that would have been otherwise impossible. Wherever a railway passes or a navigable river or a canal is at hand, there is, or there soon will be, a direct outlet to the sea. Remote localities are at once made accessible, and so it happens that Berar has proved her capability to furnish Manchester with cotton, the Nerbudda Valley and the Valley of the Indus are smiling with corn, and British Burmah, though one of our most recent acquisitions, is rapidly going to the front in the race for wealth. All this improvement we argue, as we argued on a former occasion, \* is owing to the sense of stability and order which British rule implies. Without our protection, European adventurers would not have been attracted hither to any extent, and the fortunes of native speculators would not have been so generally or so rapidly made. In the place of a close corporation, we have now a numerous body of independent merchants and a multitude of native firms, who have risen to eminence after starting with the smallest of small ventures. By the trade which these men have been able to promote, the population of old established cities has multiplied exceedingly, and new and flourishing towns like Jamalpore, Kamptee, Seetabuldee and Secunderabad, have sprung into existence. Houses of business and Banks no longer are content with offices in the Presidency Towns, but find it profitable to have branches in many parts of the interior. Correspondence by post between the manager and his subordinates is not a matter of weeks but of days, and the telegraph connects all the centres of commerce. Nor, whilst we pride ourselves that our presence has fostered trade, should we forget that it has been instrumental in checking

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\* See *Calcutta Review* No. LXXXI., 1865, Article III., The connection of England with India.

corruption and repressing crime. Within our dominions, Suttee and Samadh are well nigh things of the past, Dacoity and Thuggee are rare events, and infanticide is undoubtedly on the decline. The native officials of to-day are pure compared to their prototypes, and in ordinary seasons the collection of the revenue is easy. Few native States can come near us in these respects, though we admit with gladness that our example has borne fruit in some places. Between Bhopal and Bustar there is a great gulf fixed. They are as far apart in the character of their administration as in distance. The former is high in the scale of order, whilst the latter is yet overwhelmed with anarchy and oppression. Still, what we have effected in one case we may hope to effect in the other also, but the work is necessarily one of time.

The schoolmaster, too, has been let loose; and although hereafter we may, on political grounds, have to regret the extent of his teaching, as philosophers we are bound to rejoice over the dilution of ignorance. There is no such result as unmixed benefit from any thing that we do, and if, after our best endeavours, the balance of good is in our favour, we must not complain. For the picture of imported civilization has its dark side also. Except under our auspices, Mr. Premchund Roychund would probably never have had a million pounds' worth of cotton on the sea at one time, or been, comparatively speaking, ruined by the fall in price that occurred whilst his venture was in transit. Under altered circumstances, Bombay might have been spared the reproaches that issued from the whited sepulchres of Calcutta, and Mr. Schiller been saved the trouble of demonstrating that he was an honest merchant. These are some of the checks and penalties that prosperity is subject to, and unfortunately they do not constitute the whole of its debtor account. Enterprise has not always been legitimate of late years, and things have come to such a pass that an Englishman's title is no longer synonymous here with integrity. The natives are as alive to this fact as we are, and the knowledge that they can cast it in our teeth lessens our influence as rulers. A Government situated as our's is, should be *sans peur et sans reproche* for those of its own nationality. Fear, not love, is the motive to which the acquiescence of an alien race must be attributed. But how can we be certain that our Government is feared, when it fails to maintain order and good faith amongst a few Englishmen who are a handful in comparison to the rest of its subjects? What must the natives be saying in the secrecy of their own houses, concerning our treatment of those vagrants who

systematically eat the bread of idleness, and are alike a shame to ourselves and a terror to the people of the country? Probably, that they are not half sharply enough dealt with; and if they say so they are right, for such men have no claim to mercy. They have disowned all allegiance to society, and society need not be tender-hearted about them. To rid India of the pest is the cheapest course in the end, as it would be the most effectual for stopping the evil. A small minority might stigmatize the infringement of liberty as a retrogressive step, but the severity would be justified by the wholesome lesson to others, not to reflect disadvantageously on the dignity of the paramount power.

If we contrast the present condition of our territory with that of the most forward independent States, the result is still the same. Bhopal and Puttialah are commonly adduced as specimens of what a native administration can achieve. Yet the late Rajah of Puttialah, in many respects an enlightened prince, and at one time a member of the Governor-General's Council, considered it a grievance that a Post Office should be opened in his capital; and the Ranees of Bhopal, according to recent accounts, is not averse to rack-renting her tenants. If such a short-sighted policy is charged against sovereigns so reputedly liberal as these, what may we not infer against others whose feelings are more notorious? True, we have no statistics about native States, but it needs no documents to teach us that where ignorance is rife, justice denied, property unsafe, religious freedom wanting, and the means of intercourse niggardly supplied, no progress worthy of the name can by any possibility be attained.

Although the instances we have cited, and the comparison we have made, constitute proof positive in favour of our superiority as rulers, it is not so certain that the people give us as much credit for our efforts, as we are inclined to take to ourselves. Tabular statements can show the degree of prosperity that is due to our presence, but they are of no avail in testing the depth or the extent of our subjects' attachment. There is also this difficulty in the way, that we have not merely to fathom the sentiments of one homogeneous race, but of a variety of races as distinct in appearance, in manner of life, in vein of thought, and in their early history, as are the nationalities of Europe. A Pathan differs as much from a Bengalee as a Highlander from a Greek; and both Pathans and Bengalees have as little in common with the inhabitants of the Deccan, as a Norwegian with an Italian,

or a Swede with a Spaniard. The Bengalee will bear any insult sooner than appeal to force of arms, whilst the slightest provocation makes a Pathan lay his hand on his sword hilt. The dissimilarity in language is equally great. The speech of the Madrassie is as unintelligible to the ordinary Musulman of Delhi, accustomed as the latter is to the high-flown phrases that he has borrowed from the Persian, as the Provençal of a Niçois would be to a Dutch Burgher. We have a dangerous habit of ignoring these differences, and of thinking that the same laws, the same reforms, and the same taxation are applicable to all. Uniformity is our object, and to this principle we are too apt to sacrifice the customs and the prejudices of the people, forgetting the while that it is the historical associations and the consequent temperament of the masses which necessitate different forms of administration amongst different nations. The intelligent classes in Lower Bengal have more nearly attuned themselves to our pitch than any others of our subjects, and they, perhaps, can at length appreciate the introduction of measures borrowed from England. By all means, therefore, let them have the benefit of Municipal Commissions, Income and License Tax, *et id genus omne*. But let Government beware lest it generalize too quickly, and by forcing such institutions on less advanced communities, loosen rather than consolidate its authority. The spirit of its pioneers is willing, but impatience is their weak point.

The events of the mutiny, as Sir Richard Temple justly observes, have enabled us to distinguish broadly between those who prefer and those who resent our presence. The reigning sovereigns of Baroda, Bhopal, Cashmere, Gwalior, Indore, Jheend, Puttialah, Rewah and others, either from an intuitive perception of the probable issue of the contest, from intrinsic feelings of loyalty, or from the influence of the Political Agents at their Courts, remained steadfast, and by their help were invaluable to us at the time. The mercantile community threw in their lot with us, because they thought their wealth was safer under our auspices, desperate though our position at one period was, than it would have been if exposed to the mercy of a reckless mob. The agricultural classes throughout our dominions, with certain exceptions, preserved their hereditary impassiveness. Here, as elsewhere, experience has shown that the tide of war may come and go, and, except where the battle has been waged, or a body of troops has passed along, the strife leaves few permanent marks of suffering amongst the peasantry. To the

ryots of India the "Sircár" is and always has been an abstract personage, known only because it enforces its claim to a proportion of their crops. It matters not whether it is the Mogul or the Mahratta, the Company or the Queen that is supreme; there is never any cessation from the demand. If the labouring people took the trouble to reason, they might be honest enough to pronounce the burdens of to-day less irksome, because more fixed, than that of yore. But the majority are not capable of the effort, and in utter disregard of the exactions that their ancestors endured, they complain lustily of present petty annoyances. The chief elements of the opposition in the mutiny were the priestly and military classes, some of the less important princes, and that lawless horde whose members swarm forth from the back lanes of great cities, and break loose from gaols whenever there is an opportunity of defying order, however constituted. That the Brahmins and Rajpoots should wish to be rid of us is not very surprising, for the former are shrewd enough to deduce from our occupation the gradual decline of their influence, and the latter are for ever debarred from the offices of high trust which they might have held under a native sovereign. Beyond the insufficient employment afforded by our Native Army, there is no scope for the warrior castes' ambition, no safety valve for their restlessness. Consequently their chronic discontent bursts forth into active hostility whenever a favourable chance presents itself. The enmity of the Mahometan priesthood is even stronger than that of the Brahmins. They hate us with the undying hatred of enthusiasts whose crusade is always against religion. "From what I know of Delhi in 1857-58," writes Sir Richard Temple, "from what I am authentically informed of in respect to Hyderabad at that time, I believe that not more fiercely does the tiger hunger for his prey, than does the Musulman fanatic throughout India thirst for the blood of the white infidel. All this may be very sad, but it is no use disguising a fact which is inevitable."\*

Emigration from native into English territory is another proof of liking for our rule. It is a poor man's remedy for avoiding oppression after it has reached a greater pitch than he can bear. The agriculturist of India is "a very long suffering man, and his local affections are very strong; he will endure much before he makes up his mind to leave the spot where his forefathers have lived and died from time

immemorial."† Even when he has determined on removing, it is not always so easy for him to carry out his intention. It is against the policy of a native Government to construct a claim part of its tenants by foregoing a portion of an unrealizable land assessment every year, and thus accumulating outstanding balances, the payment of which it shall be able to enforce at any time, but which, of course, it is wholly out of the power of its victim to meet. He is thus a veritable *adscriptus glebæ*, and almost as much the property of his creditors, as the ground that he cultivates. His only hope of better days is precipitate flight, if British territory is in his vicinity. Before the annexation of Oude, many hundreds of cultivators left their homesteads and settled in the districts of Allahabad, Jounpore, and Shahjehanpore, to escape the tyranny of the Durbar, and have only returned to their villages since the Province fell into our hands. During the last ten years, the number of persons who have immigrated from foreign territory into the Punjab, is five times more than that of those who have emigrated. Equally valuable is the evidence supplied by the impressions which deposed chieftains leave behind them, and the feelings evinced by those whom it has sometimes been found needful for political reasons to transfer from British to native ownership. The exiled Rajahs of Coorg lately attempted to obtain brides from their own people, but not a single family would listen to their proposals of marriage. The Ex-Nawab of Tonk has been followed to Benâres by the execrations of his Thakoors. A number of villages in the Jullundhur Doab, which were surrendered in 1852 to the Rajah of Kupoorthallah, have never ceased to deplore their change of master. And yet the present Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab is able to affirm, that this prince has "made considerable progress of late years towards the adoption of more enlightened principles." Anonymous petitions against the Rajah and his officials still continue to flow into Lahore, from those districts which were not so long ago made over to the Bekaneer Durbar. The recent work of rectifying the boundary between Allahabad and Rewah was not a little impeded by the remonstrances of villagers, who, under the proposed arrangement, would pass away from our protection. In fact, wherever the practice of exchange has been adopted, the cry of dissatisfaction has been well nigh universal. But when native and British territory is conterminous, the preference for our rule is not so conclusively proved.

† Mr. W. C. Anderson, Survey Settlement Commissioner, South Mahratta Country, page 140.

Judging from his personal knowledge, Sir Richard Temple considers that the peasants of the Puttialah and Jheend States were among the finest and happiest that he had ever met with, and seemed on a par with the choicest pieces of British soil. In the districts which border on Bhopal, Bundelcund, and Scindia's dominions, he has not observed that the people cared for our management more than that of native States. It is fair to quote this opinion, though, as regards the administration of Bhopal, it does not tally with what Major Willoughby Osborne, the Political Agent at the Ranees' Court, has put on record. His experience is, that in cases where we have made over pergunnahs to these States, excessive assessment has quickly followed, and the Viceroy's representative has been since overwhelmed with complaints. It is unlikely that such a course should not reflect the general policy of the respective Durbars, or that those who lived beyond the border should not, under those circumstances, have manifested a sense of the advantages accruing from British protection. But even allowing these exceptions, we still have a preponderance of testimony in our favour, and we may safely assert that whenever the *people* have had a taste of both systems, they are decidedly partial to our administration.

There is one thing, however, for which every class owes us a lasting grudge, and considering that it has so far failed to attract much comment in any quarter, we are not surprised that it has been overlooked in the present correspondence. It is a matter of complaint throughout the whole country, that the purchasing power of the rupee is less than it used to be, and that this is owing to the English. Eighty years ago, nay fifty years ago, there was cause for serious alarm if wheat fell to twenty seers for the rupee. This is now the normal rate in many places. The cry for relief is loudest from the poor, because in their case not only the comforts and luxuries of life, but the necessities are affected, and from them it ascends to the higher ranks of native society. To the lower orders this diminution in the value of the currency is a real and ever present grievance, not to be gainsayed by the trite argument that wages have risen. Wages have not risen proportionably. It is only when the labouring classes have been brought into contact with the English that an increase has occurred. Our household servants have compelled us of late years almost to double their salaries, and we have not on the whole so good a stamp of attendants as the last generation had. Wherever, too, English enterprise, whether public or private, has been brought into play, the reward of

manual toil has unquestionably become larger. The Railway Companies, the Irrigation Companies, and the Department of Public Works, all offer rates which at once ensure the services of competent men. But amongst the agricultural community, where wages are paid partly in money and partly in kind, this good example has in few instances been followed. The native landholder is a hard master, and advances but slowly with the times. The weight of grain which he allows his labourers is, perhaps, the same as heretofore. And if this is so, he may argue to himself, why should not the money dole be the same also? So he clings to his conservative faith, and forgets that whilst he commands higher prices for his produce in the market, his ryots' condition is in inverse ratio to his prosperity.

For further signs of discontent we must look higher in the social scale. The peasants murmur only for bread, like the Israelites in the wilderness, and they would not be likely to trouble themselves about the further merits of our Government, provided it ensured them enough to eat. It is when we encounter the objections of the less ignorant classes, that we ought to understand in what way our Government falls short of its duty. They have not one complaint, but many, to urge against us. "You give us no opportunities," they say; and the charge is undeniably true. Soldiers, courtiers, statesmen, law-makers, artists, poets, historians, and the like would all be held in greater estimation by a native king than they are by us. They do not ask for the certainty, but for the chance, of distinguishing themselves. The excitement of being nobody to-day and a man of note to-morrow, is exactly what a native most appreciates, and what a Native Government alone renders possible. "To their minds at least in their unquiet moments, it seems better that one Azimghur Koormie should become Dewan at Lucknow, and twenty thousand Koormies be tortured to death by Rughbeer Dial in Baraitch, than that all the Koormies in India should live in peace and prosperity, and none should ever become a Rajah."\* But with us the highest talent amongst natives is only rewarded by the most subordinate appointments. With the exception of a seat in the High Court, and the more honorary than lucrative post of Member of the Governor-General's Council, there is not a single high office to which a Native can aspire. The astute Mahratta who has shown himself capable of directing with credit the affairs of Gwalior, might sigh in vain to become Foreign

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\* Mr. C. A. Elliott, page 153.



Secretary; and the statesman who has displayed his aptitude in legislating for the Deccan, is precluded from a wider sphere of action under the auspices of the Paramount Power. The exclusion extends to the best appointments in every department, and the limit of an ambitious native's promotion is a Deputy Magistracy, or the dignity of a Principal Sudder Ameen.

The disappointment that this uncongenial part of our system has brought, is supplemented by the irritation which some of our reforms have caused. To quote again from Sir Richard Temple: Natives dislike "strict enquiry into revenue privileges, sale of estates in default of payment of land revenue,—the enforcement of a fixed demand, even in bad seasons, on the ground that there was no enhancement of demand in good seasons,—the imprisonment of Civil debtors,—the sale of real property under decrees of Courts,—the non-recognition of castes or class privileges in matters of law and justice,—the imposition of legal penalties incurred as much in carelessness or in thoughtlessness as from any intention to offend the law,—the impartial, unbending, sometimes almost frigid and unsympathetic demeanour observed alike to all, rich and poor, gentle and simple,—the prevention or prohibition of petty nuisances, measures which may be necessary enough for public health and order, but which many people regard as vexatious,—and the withdrawal from all attempts to amuse the senses or stimulate the imagination of the public."\* Some of these measures will probably be modified in time; but in others, principle is at stake, and no change is likely to be made. Of all the points in our procedure which high caste men most cavil at, is that which makes every one of equal importance before the law. They themselves only tolerate their inferiors on account of the menial offices which they require of them. But that the oath, the liberty, and the feelings of a Chumar and a Rajpoot should have the same value in our eyes, is to the latter inexplicable. Caste has so long perpetuated the idea of certain duties and privileges to certain classes, that those who have been in the enjoyment of arbitrary immunities and monopolies, have come at last to look upon them as their right. The conservative doctrines of former days have in these modern times received a rude shock. A Kayastha is as likely as not, under our system, to become a Tehsildar, and a Brahmin to be his Chuprassie. To English minds the policy which dictates this equality is sound,

fair, and intelligible. We would not undo the new state of things if we could. But to the men of high degree, who are too proud or too prejudiced to submit, our disregard for their traditional superiority seems scandalous and unprovoked.

There is also something not only distasteful but extremely injurious to the people in the system of centralization that has so long been characteristic of our Government. We are careful about the phrase we employ, because we wish to disabuse the public of the notion that the system belongs altogether to recent times. Those who inveigh against the perennial flow of circular orders and resolutions, and sigh for the period when, (as they allege), their elders contented themselves with a general supervision of affairs and left the management of details to subordinates, either ignore or are not aware of the fact that their predecessors at the beginning of the century were not much freer agents than they are. Under the regular administration, reference on minute points has always been exacted at head quarters, and the unauthorized expenditure of money, however small the sum, was as certain to bring down a rebuke on a Collector's head in the early days of Government, as it is now. It is only in the infancy of Non-Regulation Provinces that real liberty of action has ever been allowed; and it is those who come thence to Regulation Districts that are sensibly affected by what is to them a most irksome restraint. But this is not equal to the annoyance that the people at large suffer. It is no trifling matter that whilst justice is theoretically open to all, the Courts are often so distant that the remedy for a wrong is as disastrous in its effects as the wrong itself. The time consumed by the plaintiff and his witnesses on the road, the many days that frequently intervene between the institution of the case and the decision of the Court of first instance, and the subsequent delay that may arise on appeal, all represent so much labour lost. The facility of appeal, too, which has been permitted to reach such a pitch that a Small Cause Judge is the only subordinate Officer whose every day decisions are not open to question, lessens the dignity of the Courts in the estimation of those who resort to them. Litigation to a native is a species of gambling, and the references which he can make on various pretexts to one authority after another, resemble the preliminary stakes of the player before he risks his all on the last spin of the wheel. The game is a desperate one, and the Vakeels, like the hell-keepers, have the best of it in the long run.

Moreover, the knowledge which every servant of Government has in his degree, that his judgment is scarcely ever final, tends seriously to impair his usefulness. A Magistrate cannot dismiss a *Jemadar*, or a Superintendent of Police fine a Constable a rupee, without the risk of having his order reversed. It is one of the charges brought against the present generation of officials, that they shrink from responsibility. The fault exists beyond a doubt, but it is not so much that of the individuals as of the central authority which controls them. When the Assistant has to refer to the Collector, and the Collector to the Commissioner, and the Commissioner to the local Government, and the local Government to the Government of India, and the Government of India to the Secretary of State, how and where are we to expect any keen sense of responsibility? The veriest details of a new proposition must be submitted, not to one, but to half-a-dozen superiors. Corrections and emendations naturally ensue, till a measure is robbed of the simplicity which is its chief merit. It is one of the consequences of centralization that, in local matters, the man who has most right to an opinion has least chance of asserting it. At present, unfortunately, the value of such an one's experience is not enough taken into account. What saved the Punjab at the time of the mutiny? Simply the knowledge which Deputy Commissioners had, that they were free to follow their own bent in adopting precautions against danger. Their energy was not crippled by the dread of interference, and they proved themselves equal to the occasion. The opportunities, too, of becoming acquainted with a District are becoming less every year. In old days, a man has been known to pass his whole career in one place. Such a thing would be impossible, not to say inexpedient, now; but the opposite extreme, which has given Benares four Magistrates within twelve months, might be avoided with advantage. What the country wants, is a body of local Officers, each with such a knowledge of his District as to be capable of initiating local measures without more ado. Supervision is wise so far as it counteracts the shortcomings of incompetent men; but when it assumes that flaws can be detected in every person's work, it is obstructive rather than advantageous. In a country like India, an unelastic standard either in administration or law-making is vicious. The elaborate propositions which suit advanced intellects are beyond the understanding of the rural population. Yet the attachment of the latter is indispensable, if we would continue to be supreme. With the agricultural classes contented or even passive, we

may, as Mr. Davis observes, meet on equal terms the smaller but more active and ambitious sections of the subjected races ; but if we oppress or irritate the country folk we create "the very fulcrum that has so far always foiled the conspiracies of "our enemies." Like the Irish faction in America, they could turn the balance against us, if they threw their weight into the scale. It is, therefore, worth while to give more than a passing thought to their interests ; and of all Government servants the local officer is most capable of learning and providing for their wants. Instead of this, with all our good intentions, we still rule and legislate from a dead level. We graft our institutions indiscriminately on every branch, forgetting that the cultivated rose best becomes the garden, and the briar the wilderness.

All things then considered, can we wonder if many servants of Government devote themselves to the routine of their offices and nothing further ? The hobbled horse cannot run, and the bird whose wings are clipped cannot soar ; no more can the man to whom liberty of action is denied, extricate himself from his allotted groove, though he may chafe under the restraint. Paralysis has struck the whole body politic of India. The extremities and the trunk have suffered most, but the head has not escaped its deadening influence. It is astounding how little real power even Lieutenant-Governors and Heads of Departments have, except in the distribution of patronage. It is more astounding still, to what a narrow limit the Governor General in Council's right of absolute sanction extends. If largeness of salary is a measure of responsibility, the executive of India should be the freest agents in the official world. But they are not, and for this anomaly the English Philistines, and not Sir John Lawrence, should be blamed. It is most unjust to urge against the Viceroy, as has often been done, that because he was brought up in the traditions of the service, it was impossible for him to be anything but a master of detail, and that his partiality for small things has given an opening to successive Secretaries of State to infringe on his prerogative. We question much whether posterity will accept this view. At present it is the most prominent one, and the easiest to assert, because contemporaries cannot dissociate the Viceroy of India from the quondam Collector of Delhi. Hereafter the interval between his labours as a Civil servant and as a statesman will be more marked, and we venture to say that in the latter character he will ultimately be adjudged not to have fallen short of any of his predecessors. Surely his policy towards Afghanistan, Mysore,

and Rajpootana, and his views on the extension of railways, irrigation, and the permanent settlement, are sufficient to show in what a liberal spirit he can deal with principles. That his opinions have not always been acted on, is not his fault. The present state of things has been forced on the Indian Government by the relation in which its members stand to the Secretary of State, and again by the relation in which the latter high Officer stands to the House of Commons. Sir John Lawrence is neither timid nor narrow-minded. He would fain accept his full share of responsibility if Parliament would accord it to him. But the fascination of authority, even in matters of which they know little or nothing, is irresistible to honourable members, and England may some day have to rue the wholesale application of national institutions, parliamentary responsibility included, to the case of a dependency whose affairs should generally be managed on the spot. We do not advocate a despotism, but we deprecate the interference of ignorant meddlers.

It only remains for us to consider the verdict. The evidence relating to the material progress of the country since the English occupied it, is too plain to be misunderstood. From every point of view India is wealthier by our presence. Confidence has thereby been inspired, energy has been provoked, and capital has been attracted Eastwards. The combination of these three conditions makes progress imperative, and in this respect India may challenge comparison with more than one country of Europe. But what shall we say of our subjects' happiness? Has that been established beyond all question? There is a custom in Scotland of declaring the charge "not proven" when the jury has little doubt of the prisoner's guilt, but not sufficient evidence to warrant a conviction. The admission, which some of the leading Englishmen in India are constrained to make with more or less reserve, very much resembles this verdict. The people ought to be content with our rule, but are not. This is the conclusion that Sir Thomas Munro, one of the wisest statesmen that India ever produced, arrived at more than forty years ago, and it is in accordance with the opinions which Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Elphinstone, and Lord William Bentinck have successively held. For ourselves, we suspected that the British Government's character for unpopularity had not changed much since their days. We are now told so on high authority. And then? Shall our administration continue to be one of "great ideas," carrying on the conduct of affairs "with scrupulous honesty and a constant

"desire after justice and right, but rigid and unsympathetic?" Shall we, by an uncompromising attitude, continue to alienate instead of to win the affections of the people? Shall we with relentless zeal continue to force the institutions of the West on a country which can boast a system of pure morality, a magnificent literature, and a devoted law-giver, many centuries before our ancestors appeared as barbarians on the page of history? We cannot be so wholly dead to the memory of the past: we must not believe in our own superiority to the exclusion of every body else. The tide is past the turning point, and there is a little straw to show which way the stream of public opinion is setting in in high places. If we would secure our position against all risks, we have only two courses open to us, either to identify ourselves by domestic ties with the natives, as the Mahomedans did, or to associate our subjects more largely with us in the administration. The first measure is wholly repugnant to our taste: the second affords an equally good remedy for our unpopularity; and the Viceroy is one of its strongest supporters. We trust that his recent advocacy of it will not have been in vain. When duly qualified natives have a direct voice in the management of affairs, we shall be able to form a just conception of what they and those whom they represent want; men will no longer tell us with uplifted hands that our commands are all-sufficient, but will intimate decidedly their wishes, and we shall be wise enough to give effect to them; the dangerous tendency of our present educational system will have been averted; and when we can rely upon internal peace, the chance of a foreign invasion need not cause us so much anxiety as it does at present.

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## KULIN POLYGAMY.

- ART. VI.—1. *Kulasara Sindhu*. By Raghunandan Tarkabagish.
2. Letter from S. C. Bayley, Esquire, Officiating Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Home Department, No. 966, dated 23rd February, 1867.
3. *Report of the Committee appointed by Government to consider the question of legislative interference for preventing the "excessive abuse" of Polygamy as practised by the Kulin Brahmans, dated the 7th February, 1867.*

THE question of suppressing the evils of Polygamy as practised by Kulin Brahmans, has lately occupied the attention of Government. Before we proceed to enter into it, we think it necessary to trace the origin and progress of Kulinism.

It is not pretended that Kulinism, like caste, is coeval with creation. It is admittedly an institution of modern origin. There being a dearth of learned Brahmans competent to perform the rites and ceremonies enjoined in the Shastras, in the reign of Adisur the founder of the Sena dynasty, that monarch imported from Kunouj five *sagnic* Brahmans, viz., 1, Bhatta Narain; 2, Dacsha; 3, Chandra; 4, Vedgarva; and 5, Srebersha. These priests represented the great *gotras* of Sanhila, Kashyapa, Vatsa, Savarna, and Bharudwaja, and were profoundly versed in the learning of the Vedas. Their intellectual superiority soon placed them above the heads of the local pundits. To the Sudras who had accompanied them from Kunouj, the Ghoses, the Boses, and the Mittras, a high rank was also assigned. They are Kulin Kaistas, as their *sagnic* companions were Kulin Brahmans, and were recognized as the leaders of the Sudras.

The descendants of the Brahman and Kaista emigrants mustered strong in the reign of the accomplished Buflal Sen, one of the successors of Adisur, and who reigned 284 years before the Mahomedan invasion. They had vastly increased in numbers, but had sadly decreased in all that constitutes true nobility. They had greatly degenerated from their ancestors. Boasting of their illustrious filiation, but inheriting neither the learning nor the piety of their fathers, they carried their heads very high. They refused to fraternize with the *saptasuli*, or the *aboriginal*

Brahmans, but despised them as a degraded race. They formed an isolated class, but commanded neither the respect nor the love of the people, having fallen off in the knowledge of the Shastras, and lacking ritualistic experience. There was little love lost between these two factions.

With a view to put a stop to the feuds which raged between the emigrant and the aboriginal Brahmans of Bengal, to form them into a homogeneous whole, and to raise meritorious members among them in the social scale, Bullal Sen conceived and carried out his scheme for the distribution of sacerdotal orders into *mels*, or denominational classes. It was founded on the policy of degrading the unworthy boasters of pedigrees, and of elevating the worthy sons of worthy sires. He ennobled the latter by conferring on them the appellation of Kulins. The test adopted in his selection was the possession of the following qualifications :—

1, Conformity to Brahmanical observances. 2, Humility ; 3, Learning ; 4, Reputation ; 5, Pilgrimage to holy shrines ; 6, Devotion ; 7, Preservation of the custom of marriages and inter-marriages among equals only ; 8, Asceticism ; 9, Charity.

The Kulins thus created by Bullal Sen, and afterwards confirmed and multiplied by Lukhun Sen, were divided into different *mels* or orders, of which four were regarded as primary. These *mels* were and are still held in the highest estimation, and took their designation from the villages where, at their own request, they were allowed to settle, *viz.*, Full, Khanda, Sarvānandi, and Bullavi. These *mels* included the most distinguished of the descendants of the five colonists from Kunouj. Moheshur and Mokund represented the Banerjeas ; Uthsavanund, the Mookerjeas ; Bharat and Arabind, the Chatterjeas ; Ingud, Gobhardhan, and Kang, the Ghosals ; and Shisho and Radhica, the Gangulies. Besides these primary *mels*, the inferior orders were distributed by Lukhun Sen into thirty sub-divisions ; such as Panditrutny, Bangal, Surayee, Acharya, Sekarry, Chatra Raghoby, Parihall, Dehatta, Dasha-rath, Ghatoky, Sahibrag Khanny, Muladar Khanny, Achambita, Chandrabaty, Boly, Kakatsthy, Raghub, Ghosaly, Bijopandity, Sadanundo Khanny, Naria, Udharany, and Chhayee.

The descendants of the five colonists, though despising at first the Saptasali as an inferior tribe, subsequently consented to accept their daughters as wives. The sons begotten by these marriages were classed by Lukhun Sen under a new order of merit, denominated *Shrotreyas*. They were regarded as inferior to their fathers, but superior to their mothers and *matamas*, or



maternal grandfathers. The privilege which they enjoyed of marrying their daughters to the Kulins, while it approximated them to the Kulins, did not degrade the latter. They constituted a connecting link between the newly-made nobles and the other aboriginal Brahmans. Bullal Sen, when he created the new heraldry, laid down the rule, that Kulins may not marry the daughters of subordinate Kulins or any other families except the Shatriya, without forfeiting their title. The infraction of this disqualifying rule is followed by the dissolution of the Kul. Thus we see that misalliance only could break up and dissolve what was indissoluble and invulnerable in other respects, and by other causes. While transgression of the moral law could not affect the title of the Kulin, on the Shastric principle that he does not forfeit his superiority even if he takes the most filthy food, a lawful but unequal marriage was considered a sufficient cause for its forfeiture. This strange dictum has not been inoperative. The Kulins being admittedly the nobles of the land, matrimonial alliances with them have invariably been eagerly sought for by all classes of the Brahmans. Being at a premium in the hymeneal market, the Kulins did not fail to make the circumstance subservient to their interests. They set up a graduated scale of fees upon their acceptance of the hand of the bride, in proportion to the risk they ran of forfeiting their title. They demanded a lesser price from Shrotreyas than from inferior Brahmans, but their avarice has always preferred the latter to the former.

Thus the Kulins, in nine cases out of ten, marry gold, instead of youth, or beauty, or accomplishments. They convert their Kul into their capital, with which they go on trading to the end of their lives. It represents not only shares, but substance. It constitutes funded and landed wealth, and all the resources with which they can eke out an income.

Although a misalliance dissolves a Kulin's Kul, yet his descendants of the first, second, third, and fourth generations are not at once degraded to the level of the Bhongshos, or herd of common Brahmans; but in consideration of their distinguished filiation, they are treated with some distinction. The immediate offspring of such a family are denominated the sons of a Swakrito-bhongo, or self-broken Kulin. They are considered as a second grade, and rank only next to the pure Kulins; the second generation rank as the third class, and the third generation as the fourth class.

The Brahmans hitherto referred to, are those who are settled in the Raur country, and hence are called *Rairya*

**Brahmans.** But some years after Adisur had imported the five Brahmans from Kunouj, and the fame of the latter had spread far and wide, Beermala, the Rajah of Barendrabhum, applied to Adisur his son-in-law, for five Brahmans of the Kunonj family, who might naturalize themselves in his raj. The king of Gour complied with his requisition, and sent to his father-in-law the requisite number of priests. These Brahmans received the designation of Barendras, from the kingdom to which they migrated. In process of time they became a distinct class, and were completely separated from the parent stock. The successors of Rajah Beermala following the example of Gour, created Kulins and Shatriyas among the Barendra Brahmans. Eight families were ennobled as Kulins, and eight as Shatriyas, holding the second rank. The former comprised the Moitras, Bhimas, Rudras, Sandals, Lahuris, Bhaduris, Sadhus, Vagisis, and Bhadaras. The Bhaduris were admitted into the pale of Kulinhood by election of the other sacred orders,—the Karanjans, the Nandabasis, the Nauris, the Atars, the Bhadashalis, the Kamdebs, the Champatis, and the Jhampatis.

Returning to Gour we find that Bullal Sen, not content with honouring and ennobling the most meritorious members of the sacerdotal orders, instituted Kulinships among the Kaistas also. It appears that the five Brahman emigrants from Kunouj were accompanied by five Kaistas; namely, Makund, Ghose, Dasaborta Bose, Kalidas Mittra, Purusutham Dutt, and Dussoborta Guha. These companions of the priestly emigrants were the progenitors and ancestors of the most respectable Kaistas of Bengal. The Ghoses, Boses, and the Mittras were ennobled by Bullal. They constitute the Kulinhood of the Kaystas, and have pre-eminence over every other order. The following eight families hold the second rank as Kaistas :—Day, Dutt, Kar, Paulit, Sen, Sing, Dass, and Guha. Among the Baatureahs, or inferior seventy-two orders, the following may be mentioned as the principal, among whom are included the Bungoj, or aboriginal Kaistas :—Goochan, Gana, Heda, Hahin, Nag, Bhadre, Shome, Pui, Rudra, Paul, Aditya, Chandra, Saini, Suin, Syama, Leja, and Chac. Inter-marriages of the Kaistas are regulated by these distinctions of families, and the inferior orders mentioned above aspire to alliances with the Kulin Kaistas. The Mittras, the Boses, and the Ghoses are, therefore, in great quest among them.

The Kulin Brahman females are differently situated from the Kulin males. Their hereditary honour frequently proves the occasion of their degradation. To them Kulinism is an

engine of misery and oppression. The stringency of the laws regulating their marriage is productive of unmitigated hardship and cruelty. These laws prescribe and insist on marriage with persons only of an equal or superior grade. They preclude the Shatriyas or any inferior order from aspiring to the hand of a Kulin girl. They affix indelible disgrace to her marriage with a Shatriya. But a Kulin bridegroom, being in great demand both among Kulins and Shatriyas having marriageable daughters, is necessarily at a high premium, the payment of which is a matter of serious and not unfrequently insurmountable difficulty to the Kulin father. He is, indeed, often placed in a deplorable situation ; he is enjoined to marry his daughters to a person of a corresponding or superior Kul, but he cannot do so without paying a large *poan*, or consideration for marriage. He cannot, on the other hand, allow his daughter to remain a spinster, because the *Shastras* insist upon the early marriage of girls,—and before their arrival at the age of puberty,—and denounce the conduct of those fathers who delay the marriage of their daughters. The result is an enormous amount of misery and distress. The Kulin father must either ruin himself by providing large sums for dowry, or violate the *Shastras* by not giving away his daughter in marriage.

The alternative left to the poor Kulin father, and which in point of fact is often followed by him, is to appeal to the compassion of some octogenarian Kulin, the husband, perhaps, of a score or two of wives, and ask him to extricate him from his miserable plight by doing him the honour of marrying his daughter. This is, indeed, a monstrous way of settling her in life, but it is one which the institutions of his country and his poverty compel him to adopt. The Kulin Brahman having the privilege of marrying an unlimited number of wives, is rarely satisfied with one wife at a time ; he generally marries half-a-dozen. The unbroken Kulins usually marry a couple of wives, namely, one out of their own class, and the other a Shatriyas ; and they receive dowry in both cases, except in case of *puriburthon*, or where there is an exchange of daughters. But the male members of Bhongo Kulins contract an enormous number of marriages, and receive a consideration with each. The Swakrito-bhongo and the Bhongo Kulins of the first and second generations are most sought after, and they have been known to marry as many as twenty, and even eighty wives. To them such marriages are the only means of subsistence. Even when old and decrepit, and on the wrong side of

eighty, in the sere and yellow leaf, they would not hesitate to contract a marriage, whether for the sake of gold, or a mistaken compassion for a Kulin father.

To support and protect so many wives is out of the question. To visit them frequently and regularly is also very difficult. The Kulin Brahman is, therefore, in the habit of living with that wife whose father is well-to-do, and of seeing his other help-meets only when he seeks the necessaries and comforts of life.

Those visits, though necessarily few and far between, are attended with corresponding pecuniary loss to the father-in-law, who has to supply presents in the shape of money and clothes. The wives who thus receive occasional visits from their husband, and enjoy but an infinitesimal share of his affections, are the most miserable creatures in existence. They live in the houses of their fathers or uncles, and are utterly unprovided for. They are doomed to a life-long misery, being deprived of any taste of conjugal felicity, and denied any exercise of those tender emotions of our nature with which they are endowed. Destitute of mental cultivation, and deprived of the husband's tender care, these unprotected females are incapable of indulging in rational recreations, and are subjected to great temptation. Their thoughts are not elevated by literary pursuits, and are only partially occupied by culinary duties, which, however useful in themselves, and proper and congenial to female minds, cannot be an engrossing or ennobling occupation. Though they are generally faithful to their husbands who neglect them, and, in fact, ignore their existence,—matrimonial faithfulness being enjoined as a paramount duty,—yet instances of the perpetration of the most heinous crimes, such as prostitution, abortion, and infanticide, are not wanting. Such crimes are, indeed, very numerous among certain classes, and in certain parts of the country. This is not to be wondered at. It is in truth, the natural and inevitable result of Kulinism, which dooms women, practically, to a life of celibacy, misery, and crime. The system which makes matrimony a matter of money; which bases the contraction of the marriage tie upon special monetary considerations; which permits the systematic desertion of the wife by her natural and legal protector, must not only be subversive of conjugal fidelity, but must sap the foundations of morality, and prove the very hot-bed of the most atrocious crimes. Ward described, several years ago, the crime of destroying illegitimate children in the womb as prevailing to an alarming extent in this country. The prevalence of the practice having

led to undue and inquisitorial interference on the part of the Police, it was enacted by Regulations 22 of 1816, and 22 of 1817, that "Police officers enquiring into any charge of abortion unattended by death, unless expressly ordered to do so "by the Magistrates, shall be liable to fine and dismissal."

We believe that owing to the progress of enlightenment and the vigilance of the Police, there has been a considerable abatement of this crime, but we do not hesitate to declare our conviction that it is still prevalent in a shocking degree. Dr. Norman Chevers in his "Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India," says: "In a country, like India, where true morality is almost "unknown, but where the laws of society exercise the most "rigorous and vigilant control imaginable over the conduct of "females, and where six-sevenths of the widows, whatever "their age or position in life may be, are absolutely debarred from "re-marriage, and are compelled to rely upon the uncertain support of their relatives, it is scarcely surprising that great crimes "should be frequently practised to conceal the result of immorality, and that the procuring of criminal abortion should, "specially, be an act of almost daily commission, and should have "become a trade among certain of the lower midwives or *dhaies*."

Kulinism is a source of prostitution. In 1853, the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta reported that the town, with a population of 416,000, supported 12,419 women of ill fame, of whom upwards of 10,000 were Hindus, numbering several daughters of Kulin Brahmans. The Health Officer of the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta, in a Report dated 16th September 1867, states, that there are upwards of thirty thousand women in the town of Calcutta, who, for their maintenance and support, are entirely dependent on prostitution. He divides these women into seven classes, the first category being composed of "Hindu "women of high caste who live a retired life, and who are kept "or supported by rich natives, or who receive a select number of visitors." Dr. Tonnere further states that, "the "great majority of prostitutes living in Calcutta are Hindus, "and comprise women of all castes—from the Brahmanee to "the Bagdee and Cowrah." Their life, in the eyes of their countrymen, has not so much of the deep degradation attached to it as the life of the European prostitute. This may be accounted for from the fact, that the principal causes which induce the European woman to become a prostitute, are every different from those that operate in this country. Whilst in other countries, the principal causes of prostitution are want of religious and moral feeling, defective education, vanity, laziness,

and, in very few instances, extreme misery, in India the principal causes of prostitution are the religious and social prejudices of caste, and utter destitution.

Kulinism is thus the prolific source of polygamy and its concomitant evils. By permitting the Kulins to multiply their wives without number, it has rendered polygamy the rule, and monogamy the exception. By again permitting them to abandon their wives at their own sweet will, it fosters and perpetuates the degradation of the women. But Kulinism and Kulin polygamy are not enjoined by the Shastras. They are a fiction and a fabrication, which a local Rajah superadded to the statute book of the Hindus, and which should be expunged from it. Far from inculcating polygamy, Hinduism repeatedly and emphatically affirms the irrevocability of the marriage tie, and enjoins on the husband to love and honour the wife, as the following extracts from Menu will show :—

“ Married women must be honored and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husbands, and by the brethren of their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity.”

“ Where females are honored, there the deities are pleased ; but where they are dishonored, there all religious acts become fruitless.”

“ Where female relations are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so, very soon wholly perishes ; but where they are not unhappy, the family always increases.”

“ In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent.”

Hinduism permits and tolerates polygamy only in certain exceptional cases, such as immunity, drinking spirituous liquors, incurable or loathsome disease, mischievousness, waste of property, aversion to the husband, unkind speech to him, barrenness after ten years of cohabitation, death of offspring, and corruption of female children.

Menu says. “ A wife who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred to her lord, who is incurably diseased, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife.

“ A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year ; she whose children are all dead, in the tenth ; she who brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh ; she who speaks unkindly, without delay.

“ But she, who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent.”

Some of these conditions are of course puerile, and may be easily over-ridden. They give great latitude to the will and caprice of the husband whenever he is disposed to take advantage of the letter of the law ; but it must be remembered they were prescribed at a time when polygamy prevailed in the civilized world. It is, on the other hand, laid down in Menu that the wife who is beloved and virtuous, though she be afflicted with disease, may not be superseded by another wife without her own consent.

The Committee appointed by Government to suggest a legislative measure for the suppression of the system of Kulin polygamy, was composed of the following gentlemen :—Mr. C. P. Hobhouse, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Raja Sutto Shurn Ghosaul Bahadoor, Pundit Ishwar Chandra Surma, Baboos Roma Nath Tagore, Joy Kissen Mookerjee, and Degumber Mittra. After showing that the system of Kulin Polygamy is not sanctioned by the Shastras, the Committee proceed to observe :—" Looking " at the subject generally, however, there cannot be a doubt " but that the system of Polygamy, as practised by the Bhongo " Kulins, is opposed to the strict ordinances of the Hindu Shas- " tras, and it is also said to be productive of the special offences " against the law which we have named ; and we are instructed, " if we can, subject to the restrictions imposed upon us by His " Excellency the Governor-General in Council, to suggest a legis- " lative measure by which the system may be suppressed.

" The root of the evil is in that custom by which Bhongo " Kulins of the inferior grades, and Bhongshojo Kulins eagerly " offer, and Bhongo Kulins of the higher grades as eagerly " accept, valuable considerations for the marriage of a woman " of the former classes to a man of the latter class.

" A law could, of course, be passed, rendering such contracts " illegal under penalties on both the contracting parties."

The Committee, while they admit the feasibility of such a law, declare their conviction that it would be inoperative, and affect indirectly that general liberty which is now possessed by all Hindus to take more than one wife. On these considerations the Committee come to the following conclusion in which nothing is concluded :—" We find that it is not in our power to suggest " the enactment of any Declaratory Law, neither can we think of " any legislative measure that, under the restricted instructions " given for our guidance, will suffice for the suppression of the " abuses of the system of Polygamy as practised by the Kulin " Brahmans, and we beg to report to that effect."

While subscribing to the report generally, the native members of the Committee, with the exception of Pundit Ishwar

Chunder Vidyasagar, record the opinion separately that, "The rapid spread of education and enlightened ideas, as well as the growth of a healthy public opinion on social matters among the people of Bengal, has so sensibly affected this custom, that the marrying of more than one wife, except in cases of absolute necessity, has come to be looked upon with general reprobation. Even among Bhongo Kulins of the 1st and 2nd classes, the number of wives, now-a-days, seldom exceeds four or five, except in very rare instances; but there is ample reason to believe that this class of people will settle into a monogamous habit like the other classes of the community, as education will become more general among them, and the force of social opinion be more widely felt."

We deny both the premises and the conclusion of the Native Committee. We append \* a statement carefully prepared by Pundit Ishwar Chunder Vidyasagar, and kindly placed by him at our disposal, showing that Kulin polygamy is not so much on the decrease as is generally supposed.

We are not so sanguine as the native members of the Committee, and do not expect that the system which has taken such deep root in the soil, will be amended by those who are interested in its perpetuation. This millennium dreamt of by them, is still very distant. It is, indeed, preposterous to expect that the Kulin Brahmans will acquire a monogamous habit as soon as they graduate from our colleges and schools.

The leading Kulin families whose welfare is bound up with the institution of Kulinism, are naturally wedded to it, and are opposed to its suppression, or even modification. We are not, therefore, surprised that Pundit Ishwar Chunder Vidyasagar, who is a man of the people, and who has been brought into intimate and familiar contact with all classes of Brahmans, demurs to the conclusion arrived at by his colleagues in the Committee. He states: "I do not concur in the conclusion come to by the other gentlemen of the Committee. I am of opinion that a Declaratory Law might be passed, without interfering with that liberty which Hindus now by law possess in the matter of marriage."

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\* This statement gives the names and residence of 5 of Kulin Brahmans in Hooghly and Burdwan districts, as well as the number of marriages which each has contracted. It cannot therefore be inserted. It shows however, 11 Kulins in Hooghly and 1 in Burdwan, who have contracted between 60 and 80 marriages each! 24 in Hooghly and 12 in Burdwan, who have contracted from 20 to 50 marriages, and 48 in Hooghly and 20 in Burdwan, who have contracted between 10 and 20 marriages.



We are convinced that the enactment of a law like that indicated by the learned Pundit, or even a more stringent one, would be attended with most salutary effects. Since the vices springing from Kulin polygamy cannot be eradicated from amongst the population, there can surely be no valid reason why their source should not be subjected to the restraint of legislation.

We readily admit that social and religious changes must be effected by the natural progress of society ; but the cruelties of Kulinism are not enjoined or even warranted by the Shastras. If Government puts them down, it will have the consent and support of the upper and educated classes of the community,—those on whom the ruler in every civilized country naturally relies for the vindication of any measure of general usefulness, affecting the well-being of the entire community.

Though we cannot but admire the excellent law that in Christendom restricts a man to one wife, without recognizing any circumstances as justifying a final release from the claims of matrimony, excepting infidelity to the marriage bed ; yet we regret that we cannot persuade ourselves to ask for the total abolition of the institution under all circumstances, as it unhappily happens to be too intimately connected with the popular religion of the country to be thrown aside without injury to the whole social fabric. To those that profess Hinduism and repose their hopes of future happiness on the rigid performance of the manifold rites it enjoins, the absence of male issue is an unspeakable calamity ; since the disembodied spirit, according to Hindu belief, depends for salvation on the regularity with which certain ceremonies are celebrated on earth by the surviving progeny of the deceased. In consequence of this belief, the desire for progeny (common to all mankind) assumes a peculiar degree of intensity in this country, and has, from time immemorial, contributed to the prevalence of polygamy among the Hindus.

Such being the case, an Act of the Legislature rendering polygamy penal under every shape, would be regarded by our Hindu fellow-subjects as a direct invasion of that religious liberty, the enjoyment of which has been graciously guaranteed to them by the memorable Proclamation of the Queen.

We would, under these circumstances, suggest the enactment of a law abolishing polygamy among Kulin Brahmans, except in well-ascertained cases of infidelity or hopeless barrenness, and that with a view to restrain the unprincipled. We would further suggest that no man may be allowed to contract a second

marriage during the life-time of his first wife, without procuring a licence from the nearest Judicial Officer, and registering the performance of the ceremony in the Office of the same, in a book or books to be kept for the purpose.

In connection with this subject we would suggest, that educated native gentlemen who are really desirous to put down Kulin polygamy, should raise a separate fund for prosecuting such Kulin Brahmans in the public courts as may neglect to maintain their wives. Prosecutions for alimony, we believe, will prove a more powerful deterrent than "the growth of a healthy "public opinion," indicated by the native members of the Committee.

The first step to the consummation of social reforms among the Hindus, is the emancipation of their females from the thralldom of Kulinism. The true test of a nation's civilization is afforded by the social and intellectual status of its women. We would therefore, in conclusion, impress on our educated native friends, the truth of what Tennyson has said :

"The woman's cause is man's, they rise or sink  
"Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

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## ART. VII.—THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE CIVIL FURLOUGH RULES.

SO much discussion has been raised by the proposed alterations in the Furlough Rules, that we feel certain that we need make no apology for devoting an article to this subject, though it is very technical and ordinarily uninteresting to a large proportion of our readers. We can only say that in discussing it we are compelled to confine ourselves to the effects of the proposed alterations on the Civil Service, and that we cannot undertake to touch upon the Military Rules; while even as regards the Civil Rules we are compelled to devote our attention to their effect upon Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, as want of data no less than space prevent us from examining minutely their effects upon the members of the Service in other parts of India.

It cannot be denied that the existing Furlough Rules were particularly oppressive in their operation on many persons in the Service. They were least injurious to officers in the regular line of the Service, but even then a Magistrate and Collector taking leave under them lost in a moment from 70 to 82 per cent. of his allowances, and on his return from leave had to wait, not unfrequently, a whole year before he could get back to the position which he would have held had he not gone home. This is unquestionably an enormous sacrifice to call upon a man to make for going to England, not out of his turn or to suit any special convenience of his own, but for that regular authorized holiday which he earns after seldom less than 10 years' service in India. But in the case of persons out of the regular line, the sacrifice was still greater. In extended to his prospects as well as to his pecuniary interests. A Secretary either to the Supreme or Local Government, or to the Board of Revenue, or a Registrar of the High Court, holds an appointment for which he is supposed to have been specially selected, and which very frequently leads on to other prizes. These appointments are generally paid rather better than the ordinary line; not only, therefore, is the pecuniary loss greater in their holders taking furlough, but such persons have also to sacrifice the advantage to their prospects, which they had gained by being selected for one of these appointments. As they have to vacate

the appointment on taking furlough, they would find it filled up on their return, and would have to revert to the regular line, and lose all the benefits they had acquired. Again, there is a further class of appointments for which men are specially selected, with a view to their aptitude for the work, and on the understanding that they devote themselves at least for a long term of years to their special work. Such are the Registrar General of Assurances, Collectors and Deputy Collectors of Customs, Opium Agents in Bengal, and the Inspector-General of Police in the North-Western Provinces, also Survey and Settlement Officers. Such men, after taking up a certain line, and specially qualifying themselves for it, are compelled, if they take furlough, to abandon it, generally without a chance of returning to it, or of deriving any further benefit from their special experience.

On the other hand, leave under a medical certificate enabled an officer to retain his appointment, and to draw half his salary up to £1,000 per annum, instead of £500, his furlough allowance. The greatly superior advantages of this kind of leave to the individual availing himself of it, naturally led to the result that everybody who could, took advantage of it. No one of any standing who could get leave under medical certificate would think of taking a furlough; this naturally had its effect upon what has been termed the doctors' consciences. Many a man who has been several years in the country, needs a change for over-length of residence, accompanied by constant and monotonous work. It is precisely for such persons that furloughs should be available, leaving medical leave for those who are prematurely or suddenly affected by the climate; but these men cannot afford to take their furlough, they have wives and families, perhaps also special appointments. A furlough is to them a fine of, without any exaggeration, £5,000. The doctors know this, they know that they cannot expect such persons to undergo so enormous a sacrifice, and therefore strain a point and grant a medical certificate, and a lax system inevitably grows up.

It is evident, therefore, that the remedy by which the conditions of furlough are assimilated to those of sick leave, and an officer, who never happens to require or be able to obtain medical leave, is permitted, in due course, to obtain the same amount of leave under the same conditions, as he would have done at an earlier period had he fallen ill, is one which has long been urgently called for. The rules, also, which the Committee have proposed, regulating the periods after which leave can be taken, are all that can be desired, the modification

which the Secretary of State has insisted on, *viz.*, that appointments can only be retained for two years is also a very good one, and improves the rules rather than otherwise; we are satisfied, therefore, that, as far as the altered *arrangements* for furloughs are concerned, (we are not speaking now of the Secretary of State's alterations in the short leaves) no valid objection can be raised; it is the financial effect of them, which has elicited so much discussion; and to this we propose to devote the greater part of this article, more especially giving our attention to the manner in which they bear upon the Lower Provinces and the North-West.

Under the present rules if an officer goes home on furlough, his place is filled up, the place of his successor is filled up, and so on down to the Assistant with full powers, who fills up the vacant 2nd Grade Joint Magistracy. Each of these officers draws the full pay of his appointment. The post of Assistant with full powers is not filled up in any clear and definite manner, and the Committee argue that the State may make some saving here, as the officer who does the work was a sort of supernumerary before. This argument, however, we regard as entirely fallacious. In the Lower Provinces certainly there are no supernumeraries; Assistants with full powers are, as a rule, about the hardest worked, and, proportionately to what they do, lowest paid officers in the Service, and unless their work goes undone, it has to be done by some one else, at least at the same cost on the whole; as a fact these vacancies are kept supplied by the stream of assistants who are twice every year gaining increased powers, and their places again by the new arrivals once every year.

It is a complicated question and it is difficult to exhibit the precise effects in any clear form, but we are satisfied that, on the whole, it should be argued that the vacating of an appointment of Rs. 500 by an Assistant, who is promoted to a 2nd Grade Jointship is no gain and no loss to Government.

On this assumption it is evident that every furlough under the old system, cost the Government precisely £500 a year, the work of the absentee being done at precisely the same expense to the State as it would have been put to had he not taken leave. The Committee's proposition is to allow furlough to be taken on the same conditions as medical leave: what then is the effect on the public purse of absence on medical leave? The absentee does not vacate his appointment, the person who does his work during his absence will draw, therefore, a deputation allowance in addition to the salary of his own appointment, the sum of which



Similarly for a Magistrate of the first grade the figures will be

Total	5,432	4,974	4,366	3,655
Saving to Government	Rs. 458	...	...	708

For a Magistrate of the 2nd Grade in Bengal—

Total	3,516	3,391
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Saving to Government Rs. 125

For a Joint Magistrate of the First Grade the figures will be—

	Furlough. Mdl. leave.		Furlough. Mdl. leave.	
Joint Magte. 1st Grade	500	540	500	600
Successor to 1st Grade	900	700 + 200	1,000	700
Successor to 2nd Grade	700	500	700	500 & 200
Total	2,100	1,940	2,200	2,000

Saving to Government Rs. 160

Rs. 200

And in the case of a Joint Magistrate of the 2nd Grade the result would be—

Bengal.

N. W. P.

Saving to Government Rs. 200

Nothing, and no loss.

The above illustrations sufficiently show that were Government merely to sanction the substitution of Medical Leave Rules for existing Furlough Rules, the result would be that the State would gain and the service lose to a very considerable extent; in fact, if the appointment vacated is a Judgeship in Bengal or a Judgeship, or a Magistrateship in the North-West, the Government not only gain relatively, compared to a furlough, by an officer taking medical leave, but even gain *absolutely*, so that, ignoring the question of efficiency which is quite different, the State is actually in pocket by a Judge taking medical leave, even after paying the absentee allowance of the officer on leave, as well as all the deputation allowances accruing by his absence.

While, therefore, the officer on leave gained not only in obtaining a better absentee allowance, but also in reverting to his appointment immediately upon his return, the loss involved to his juniors by his retaining his appointment, instead of forfeiting it is obviously so great as not only to balance the gain, but even to overbalance it sufficiently to leave a considerable margin of relative profit to the Government. As may be presumed, the Committee did not in the least overlook the saving to Government by the proposed conversion of the conditions of furlough into those of ordinary medical leave: on the contrary, they collected figures

and entered into a calculation, which, based on the experience of the last three years, accurately exhibited the amount of this saving. They shew first that 146 officers on medical leave during that period drew Rs. 89,283 absentee allowance in place of Rs. 2,22,406 the value of their substantive appointments: this gives an average of 40 per cent. on his appointment, as the absentee allowance of an officer under medical leave. They next show what the saving is to Government by the working officers only drawing deputation allowance, instead of the full salaries of the absentees. They find that 241 officers, absent on leave of any kind holding their appointments led to a saving, in this respect, of Rs. 1,09,861: as their appointments were worth Rs. 3,74,296 the percentage of saving is found to be as nearly as possible 29 per cent. on the salary of the officer. As the deputation allowance is the same, whatever the nature of the leave taken, as long as the appointment is not vacated, this result may be assumed to be correct for medical leave only without any serious error. It follows that while Government has to pay on an average 40 per cent. on the salary of his appointment to an absentee on medical leave, it recoups itself by a saving of 29 per cent. on this salary by paying a less amount to the officers who do the work in India. The total loss, therefore, is only 11 per cent., that is to say, while Government actually gains if a Judge takes leave it loses if an officer on less pay than 2,000 obtains medical leave, and the total result is, that to pay the allowance to the absentee, as well as the deputation allowances to the various acting officers, costs it, on the average, Rs. 111 for every Rs. 100, which the appointment of the absentee is worth.

The Committee do not calculate the precise percentage which a furlough costs to Government, but it can be done with the greatest ease, taking as the basis the 146 absentees on medical leave above referred to. The salaries of these officers aggregated Rs. 2,22,416, their furlough allowances would have been  $416\frac{1}{2}$  each per mensem, or in all 60,833 per mensem. That is, on the average about Rs. 27 per cent. on the salary vacated. As, however, the vacancies would be filled up in full, this exactly represents the loss to Government. Consequently in the event of a furlough being taken, the cost to Government is Rs. 127 for every 100 Rs. of the salary of the appointment vacated; while in the event of a medical leave being taken, the loss would be Rs. 111 for every 100 Rs., and hence by the simple conversion of furlough into medical leave, the Government would gain on an average 16 per cent. on the monthly salary of the appointment of the absentee. But a further result would follow: the individual, besides the advantage of returning to his appointment



at once, would draw 40 per cent. instead of 27 per cent. on its value, he would therefore gain 13 per cent. by the change, the Government would gain 16 per cent., while the officers who would act, the juniors of the absentee, would be losers by the change, to the extent of (between them,) 29 per cent. on the salary of the appointment of the absentee.

The Committee, as we have said, were fully alive to this result, but under the apprehension, perhaps, that the proposed changes would be summarily negatived, if even the possibility of additional cost to Government were mentioned, they did not venture to go further than to propose to leave Government in *statu quo*, and to re-imburse the juniors of the absentee, not to the full extent of the 29 per cent. by which they would be injured, but to the extent of the 16 per cent. on the salary of the absentee, which would otherwise become a saving to Government.

It is this apprehension which to our mind has laid open to misconception, and to a good deal of angry feeling, a scheme which was otherwise admirable in its designs. The Government naturally acquiesced easily enough in so pleasant a position as that of playing the liberal at no extra expense, but from the easy and uncritical tone in which it accepted the scheme, and from the uncalculating and ready consent accorded to its main principles by the Secretary of State, we cannot but think that the Committee were needlessly cautious in their apprehensions, and that they would not have been repulsed had they asked the Government directly to bear the expense of more liberal leave rules.

Probably the Committee were aware that, as long as for form's sake they made a show of a self-supporting scheme, the Government would not object to bearing a certain percentage of the increased expenditure. Whether, however, we are right or wrong in this supposition, it is obviously the only one which can rescue the Committee from the opprobrium of having drawn up an obviously one-sided scheme for the benefit of those who were represented on the Committee, and of having thoughtlessly overlooked the consequent injury done to those who were unrepresented. The proof of this is so simple that no amount of ingenuity can possibly evade its cogency. The furlough-holder, as the Committee's own figures showed them, was to gain more than 13 per cent. on the value of his appointment; we say more, for he gains directly 13 per cent. besides the benefit of returning to his appointment at once, instead of waiting a longer or shorter period in order to get back to it after his return

If then the Government was *literally* to lose nothing and gain nothing, this gain must come out of the allowances of those below the furlough-taker. Now furlough-takers under ordinary rules must be above 7 years' standing, and may be said to average 13 years' standing, therefore if the Committee *strictly* intended to preserve Government from any additional expenditure under the new rules, their proposal, nakedly reduced to its simplest analysis, would be, that the Government should, on their recommendation, mulct the members of the Service under (say) 13 years' standing, to the extent of about 13 per cent. on the aggregate substantive salaries of furlough-takers, in order to enable these latter to improve their pecuniary position to an equal extent.

To enable the reader to appreciate the full injustice of such a proceeding, it is necessary briefly to explain what the position of the lower members of the Civil Service is at the present moment. During the last 7 or 8 years, the higher appointments of the Service have remained stationary, or rather been somewhat reduced in number. The Financial Department, which absorbed a certain number, has been practically closed to the Service, and only the existing incumbents are dying out, while no new ones are succeeding to them. Salt Agencies have been abolished, one Member of the Board reduced, and another likely to follow; while it is said that the greatest prize of all, which is worth a lac of rupees per annum to the Service in money, besides honour and influence, the Lieutenant-Governorship, is to be made hereafter, the prize of interest and party connection in England, instead of the one great reward of unintermittent industry and ability in India. As a set off to these losses, the new appointment of the Chairman of the Justices has been hitherto given to Civil Servants, the number of Civilian Judges of the High Court is somewhat larger than the old number of Sudder Judges, (though it is by no means certain that this will continue) and there is a probability of a new appointment as member of the Local Council in Bengal, and perhaps of an additional Secretary: on the whole, however, the loss has obviously exceeded the gain among the higher appointments. On the other hand, the development of the subdivisional system has led to a great demand for officers of the Subordinate Executive Service or Covenanted Assistants. The subordinate Executive Service has not been materially enlarged, but the increased demand has almost entirely been satisfied by the wholesale importation of large batches of new Civilians. Hence simultaneously with the decrease in the higher appointments, there has been an enormous increase in the number of Assistants,

whose prospects entirely depend on the early date at which they may obtain these higher appointments; the enormous deterioration in these prospects, from the simultaneous decrease in the number of higher and increase in the number of lower appointments, is self-evident, but in order that nothing might be wanting to aggravate the evil, it so happens that whereas from 6 to 9 years ago, several large years, that is, years containing a great many officers, were reaching the pension limit of 25 years, they have been followed by a succession of small or at most moderate years, and hence the number of retirements has latterly been below the average. The position, therefore, of the junior members of the Service is simply this,—they have been sent out in very unusually great numbers, we may safely say, at double the usual rate for 3 or 4 years in succession; hence they have needed double the rate of promotion to save their prospects from serious deterioration. Instead of double the usual rate of vacancies however, circumstances have combined to give less than the usual rate for 5 or 6 years past. Lastly, even out of these reduced vacancies, a great many have been absorbed by the policy of Government, which has led to the suppression of some appointments and to the bestowal of others upon outsiders. It may be anticipated that the position of these new arrivals is about the most deplorable, which has existed in the Service during the last half century. A simple fact will illustrate this abundantly. An officer in Bengal, who passed by the higher standard of examination 5 or 6 years ago, found himself 8 or 10 places below the last Joint Magistrate of the 2nd Grade. As it takes on an average a little over a year to get through 8 or 10 places in that position in the list, it follows that a person who came out into the Lower Provinces Service 7 or 8 years ago, would get his first substantive step, giving him a salary of Rs. 700 a month in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  years, according as he passed quickly or slowly. The head officer who passes by the same standard in the examination which has just taken place, will be 50th from the same grade as before. That is to say, as 9 steps may be taken as the *normal* promotion of a year, an officer, who came out some 3 years ago, would, if retirements were up to the average, be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years longer in getting his 700 Rs. substantive salary, than he would have been, had he come out 3 or 4 years earlier; but as promotions are for the reasons we have above explained much slower than the average, he will be at the very least  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 years longer, in all probability, in getting this step. A simple calculation of the effect of this injury will show that, by the time he reaches

the post of a Magistrate and Collector of the 1st Grade, his allowances will have aggregated about 60,000 to 100,000 Rs. less than those of his seniors during an equal portion of their service ! This will be the hecatomb which he has been called upon to sacrifice to the policy of the Government, in curtailing or alienating higher appointments, and creating numerous sub-divisions Throughout this article we are careful to avoid exaggeration, and we are by no means certain that we are not *under*-stating the average loss. Such then are the prospects of the juniors of the present day,—prospects the deterioration in which must be vaguely, if not accurately, known to the Government in India, as well as to the members of the Furlough Committee. Are we then to believe that either the Committee deliberately proposed, or the Government deliberately accepted a scheme, the effect of which was to be still further to injure their deplorable position, in order to improve that of the men of 8 years' standing and upwards who wished to take furlough, and who have been rather fortunate than otherwise in the rate of their promotion ? Great as is the furlough grievance which it was proposed to remedy, the grievances of those at whose cost it was to be remedied are so much greater, that the proposal would have been either the most ill-considered and thoughtless, or the most unjust and ungenerous to which a Civilian in India ever attached his signature. If, therefore, we believed that the "no loss no gain" proviso, which is put forward by the Committee and acquiesced in by the Government were a real *sine quâ non* to the adoption of the scheme for improving furloughs, we might leave off here at once. If there is to be a gain to furlough-takers, there must be a compensatory loss somewhere, and if none of that loss is to be borne by Government, it must, on the principle of the retention of appointments ; be borne by those who are juniors to the furlough-holder, however the scheme may be manipulated. Now, these juniors, as we have fully shown, cannot, without the grossest hardship and injustice, be subjected to any such loss, consequently the conclusion is obvious, the furlough grievance cannot be remedied, and not only every junior but every senior in the Service, who has a spark of honest feeling, must protest against the change.

It is obvious, therefore, at a glance that if the "no loss no gain" proviso is indispensable, no tinkering can make the scheme tolerable : but the whole tone adopted by the Government, both in India and in England, leads us to suppose that those in whose hands power rests, are not so resolute in their unwillingness to remove a very great grievance in the Furlough Rules

without making the juniors pay for the change, or to deny a little and comparatively very trifling compensation to the Service for the great injuries which the policy of the last ten years has inflicted on its prospects, to say nothing of the enormous increase of prices which has operated in the same direction. We, therefore, propose first carefully to analyse the operation of the proposals of the Committee on the North-West and Bengal lists, and to show how far the gain to the furlough-holder does become a loss to the juniors; and, secondly, how far alterations in the details, not in the principles of the Committee's proposals, will remedy the residuary grievances or inequalities, which may be found to exist even if the scheme, on the whole, is sufficiently tolerable to be accepted as a boon, or at any rate as no loss to any part of the service.

Let us then consider what is the condition which would render the scheme not unfair to the juniors?

It may be said that every junior will become a senior some day, and that, therefore, it is no injustice to take from him now what will come back to him afterwards, when his turn comes to be a senior. This argument, however, is quite fallacious. Every junior would, it is true, become a senior some day before he could be turned out by the thirty-five years' service rule, but with a service constituted such as that in Bengal a long juniority means a short seniority. To take for an illustration the latest Bengal list: There are at the present moment about 225 men of less than 26 years' standing. This gives an average of 9 men to each year. As, however, the effect of casualties and premature retirements is to thin the years towards the upper end of the list, it would be about correct to say that 7 names form the average of a year at the top, 9 at the middle, and 11 at the bottom of the list. A little above the bottom, three years ought to extend over about 30 names, and a little below the top over about 24. It will also be seen from the figures which we give below that the first 80 in the list ought to be regarded as seniors, to whom the Committee's scheme will be a decided advantage. Of these, some 18 are above 25 years' standing, the other 62 should, on an average, be spread over 8 years, that is, as the service now stands, and assuming the large increase in its number of late years to represent its normal figure for the future, a man ought to reach the position of 80th on the list 8 years before he is 25 years' service, or, when he is about 17 years' standing. The 80th on the list at the present moment is just 14½ years' standing, and therefore the periods of service below the rank of 80th and above the rank of 80th for

men of this section of the Service have been  $10\frac{1}{2}$  and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  years instead of 8 and 17. The most unlucky men in the Service in regard to standing, are those who landed in the autumn of 1864. The 3 years above them which should contain now about 30 or 31 names, extend from 152 to 217 inclusive, that is, exactly 66 places. About  $\frac{1}{4}$ th, or 13 of these may be expected to fall off before they reach the top of the ladder. Allowing, then, the same number as now for men who are overstaying the 25 years (18)—and it would probably be rather larger—it is evident that when in 1886 the men of 1864 complete 22 years' service, they will, in all probability, find about 71 men still above them, that is, the lower members of that year will just reach the rank of seniors 3 years before their pension become due. Assuming then, which is very nearly correct, that the proposed changes would be a gain to the upper 80, and a loss to the lower 160, on the list, and that the total loss and gain are equal, which is nominally the Committee's assumption, it follows that a junior in the position we have selected, will, instead of recovering in 8 years the loss which he suffered during 17 years, continue to lose  $\frac{1}{4}$ th as much again during 5 more years, and then only recover a little more than  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of what he ordinarily should, during his last 3 years' service. A present senior, on the contrary, will, owing to the luck of the rules being changed after he has passed his period of loss, gain without any counterbalancing loss, and also gain not only the average gain of a senior, but some  $\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}{8}$  more than the average, owing to his having come in for a lucky run of rapid promotion. This then is the first fatal objection to the argument of a junior now being a senior some day, that the proposed transfer of pecuniary advantages from juniors to seniors, aggravates the existing inequalities in the rate of promotion, both at the present moment, and hereafter also, as long as the system continues; it takes from those whose promotion is slow to give to those whose promotion is fast.

There is, however, a second fallacy in the argument. On the "no gain no loss to the State" principle, the same pecuniary amount which is gained by the seniors must be lost to the juniors. This amount admits of easy estimation on the averages of the last few years. Again, to take Bengal, the number of furloughs is usually about 18. Say, that the average salary of the appointment vacated by a furlough-holder is Rs. 16,000 per annum (and we believe this to be below the mark); the average loss to the juniors and gain to the seniors has been shown to be 13 per cent. on the

substantive salary of the absentee, the total annual loss is, therefore,  $13 + 160 + 18 = \text{Rs. } 37,440$ , or above 3,000 Rs. a month, divided among the whole number of juniors, which for argument's sake we assume to be 160. This gives an average loss of nearly 20 Rs. a month or 240 Rs. per annum, and were this loss spread equally over the 17 years, which should, when promotion is normal, be spent below the 80th place, it might, without any material error, be considered as a loss, once for all, of about 4,000 Rs. in the ninth year. On the other hand, the same amount, Rs. 37,440, is shared by (say) 62 seniors, for the 18 at the top of the list above 25 years' standing would hardly be affected by the new rules. The average gain to each senior would, therefore, be about 600 Rs. per annum spread over 8 years, which also may be calculated as a lump gain of 4,800 Rs. in his 21st year. This would appear to show that the same man gains more than he loses, *viz.*, 4,800 against 4,000. This is true *if he lives*; the total gain is divided amongst those who live and remain in the service over 17 years (taking the average); the total loss is divided among those who live and serve 17 years, as well as those who serve part but *not* the whole of these 17 years, owing to death or some other cause. The value of the *prospect* of getting this 4,800 Rs. is of course exactly 4,000 Rs. to each of the juniors as an average. The effect of the scheme, therefore, may be roughly stated as this:—Assuming the correctness of the “no loss no gain to the State” theory, and assuming that the gain is spread equally over the 19th to 80, names on the list, and the loss spread equally over the 81st to 240th names, a Civilian, whose promotion is just average, should pay down a sum of 4,000 Rs. in his ninth year, for a chance of getting 4,800, which chance is equal to the *certainty* of getting 4,000 Rs. in his 21st year; in short he loses the compound interest of 4,000 Rs. for about 12 years. The existing seniors would of course carry off between them the principal and interest for ever of these respective sums of 4,000 Rs. from each of the juniors; the interest would be a perpetual loss to all juniors in succession as they rise to be seniors, the principal would fall as a loss on the last men of the Service, who, at some future date at its collapse or abolition are juniors, but never become seniors, or if the service died out by all juniors becoming seniors but having no successors, it would be borne by the Government of the day, which would *save so much less by not filling up their appointments, than it would save at present, were these appointments not reduced to the extent indicated.* Our argument may not be very clear,

but we are confident that its principle is thoroughly sound, and its conclusion approximately correct. This, then, is the summary of what we consider that we have already proved :—1st, that if there is to be no loss and no gain to the State by the proposed rules, the juniors must, on the fundamental principle of the proposed change, pay for the gain to the seniors. 2ndly, that the argument that they will in their day become seniors is fallacious, because the effect of the proposed change is, (*a*) to aggravate all the inequalities of promotion, and press on those who are unlucky in this respect, to the benefit of those who are lucky ; (*b*), because even to the persons who have average luck in promotion, it would give them back only the principal of their previous losses, instead of the principal, together with the interest for the years they had prepaid it.

We, therefore, maintain confidently that the “no loss no gain to the State” principle is radically unjust and ungenerous to juniors ; the true principle should be no loss no gain to the most unfortunate of the juniors, the scheme on this understanding being made as economical as possible to the State, which, however, will bear such extra expense as is ultimately necessary to remove the just grievance which the present Furlough Rules afford. The loss, if any, the refore, which may fall upon the juniors, must be not greater than such as the most unfortunate among them, (we mean unfortunate by mere position on the list not unfortunate owing to delay in passing or inefficiency) will probably recover when they become seniors. That is, unless Government wishes to be unjust to some portion of its servants, and that the very portion which most deserves consideration, owing to its being most ill-paid through circumstances, it must make up its mind to provide for part of the increased pecuniary advantages, which it gives to seniors *as a body*, and only to recoup itself to the extent of the remainder from the juniors *as a body*.

Assuming, then, that greater leave facilities are to be conceded to the Service, this might have been done fairly on two principles—either the “no loss no gain to the State” principle ; or that the State would give so much as might be sufficient to protect the interests of those on whom the alterations might unduly press. If the first principle is to be carried out, it is obvious that the scheme, unless it is grossly unfair, must be so arranged as that the very same class, the very same men, as far as possible, who are pecuniary gainers by taking furlough without forfeiting their appointments, and drawing better pay during their absence, should lose, when not absent, such an amount as would



cancel their gain when on leave, and that means should be taken to secure all other classes from gain or loss. To arrange this would have been exceedingly difficult and complicated. The retention, instead of the vacation of an appointment, *must* injure those below the appointment-holder. The only way we can see, by which this could have been arranged, would have been to let men acting for furlough absentees (not medical furloughs) draw the full pay of the appointments in which they are appointed to act, and their successors' full pay similarly, and also for them not to be liable to be turned out of their appointments by the return of the furlough-holder. The furlough-holder, on the other hand, should draw the full medical leave-allowance of his appointment while absent, and the full pay on his return, being deputed to act as soon as he returned in the first acting vacancy, and filling up the first permanent vacancy that occurred after his return, but *not* turning out the man acting for him. This would be an obvious loss to Government, which must be recovered by reducing in some way the salaries of the very class who were taking furloughs of the old kind, (that is, the three first years of their furlough) to such an extent as would counterbalance the additional allowances paid to the absentees. This is a complicated system, and we are not for a moment advocating it; on the contrary, we wish to show how difficult it would be for Government to allow furlough-holders to retain their appointments, without being unjust to some class or other, *unless* it is prepared to undergo some slight expense at any rate in protecting the several interests involved.

It is true that a scheme, very—closely resembling the present one though differing from it in one material point, might have been arranged in such a manner as to injure no one and be a boon, though a much more modified boon than the present scheme, to persons wishing to take leave. This would have been to have left the minimum and maximum allowances for all other leave except furloughs, the same as at present; to have introduced all the proposed rules regarding periods of furlough, medical leave being furlough by anticipation, &c.; but to have laid down that the first three year's furlough on private affairs, must be taken on the present conditions of loss of appointment, and on an allowance of £500 a year; though the last three might be taken without loss of appointment and with half pay up to a maximum salary of £1,200 a year. This scheme would have cost nothing to the State, would have been a gain to a great many, and a loss to none; and if the Govern-

ment are determined that the new scheme shall cost them nothing, we earnestly press upon them the adoption of this plan as the only one, which can, without great intricacy, make concessions in regard to leave rules, and be fair to all. The proof that this scheme would be unobjectionable is easy enough. No junior would lose, because appointments would be vacated for him at least as frequently and, probably, more so than before ; since some men who now never take furlough might be induced to take it, in order to be able afterwards to take the more advantageous kind of furlough. A man who had to take his full period of medical leave, would be in precisely the same position as now neither a gainer nor a loser. A man, on the contrary, who never got medical leave, could, after his three years' ordinary furlough, take three years additional furlough if he stayed out long enough. This, though a gain to him, would be in itself a pecuniary loss, since he would draw £1,200 a year instead of his larger salary ; but of course this being at the choice of the individual, cannot be regarded as anything but a boon. Lastly, the savings of his salary thus curtailed would go to improve the position of the juniors who would act for him. It may at first sight appear as if the scheme would prove an expense to the State, since medical leaves, on a maximum of £1,000, a year have been shown to cost Government on the average Rs. 111 for every Rs. 100 of the salary of the appointment held. This is true, but it will be seen that loss is caused by the absenteeism of men on smaller salaries, for which Government pays more than Rs. 111 for every Rs. 100 during his absence. An examination of the figures given at the beginning of this article will show that, if a Judge in Bengal or a Judge or Magistrate in the North-Western Provinces takes medical leave, the State is pecuniarily an absolute gainer by such absence. Hence, it could afford, certainly without loss, probably with some slight gain, to give to such Judges and North-Western Provinces Magistrates an absentee allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month instead of Rs. 833 as at present. But additional furlough, as it can only be taken after three years' ordinary furlough, could not, under the Committee's rules, be taken till a person is over 16 years' standing, and it might be taken at any time up to 34 years' standing. Therefore those who took it, would, on the average, be at least of the rank of Judge, and hence the pecuniary interests of Government would be secure. It is still possible that such a rule might injure juniors by inducing men to stay on longer, or to take furlough immediately before retiring. We do not think, on the whole, this

would counterbalance the gain from the increased number of leaves, but as precisely the same objections apply to the Committee's scheme, we shall have a few words to say on this later on.

The above scheme, as we say, might be adopted by Government without any extra expense and if the no loss, no gain principle is a *sine quâ non*, it is the best and fairest they can adopt but it still leaves unredressed the crying grievance that no man can attain this more favourable leave till he has gone through three years' leave at the cruel sacrifice both of money and prospects, which furlough at present involves. This grievance cannot, as we say, be redressed without injustice to others, except in a most intricate and tortuous manner, unless Government are prepared to sanction some extra expense to protect the interests of those whom the change would otherwise injure.

But surely there cannot be the slightest doubt, no less from the general aspect of the case, than from the liberal attitude assumed by the Secretary of State, that it is prepared to incur this expense. Here is a Service, every member of which has suffered greatly owing to the general rise of prices during late years, while, instead of their salaries being raised, they have been reduced by the loss of many good appointments, which Government has found it expedient to alienate, or suppress; the junior members of which, especially the men of five years' standing and under, have suffered cruelly, owing to the introduction of the sub divisional system; and now, when an admitted grievance in the Furlough requires redressing, is it to be believed that the Government will grudge the slight increase of expenditure which the Rules redressing it will cost, unless the boon is to be conceded to those who can best afford pecuniary loss at the cost of those who can least well afford it.

In this spirit then we proceed to examine the financial effects of the scheme upon the Service generally. It must be remembered that we have most carefully abstained hitherto from saying a word against the Committee's proposals, except on the understanding that they are to cost the State nothing. The State has accepted their general principles generally, that is to say, without any criticism of the very general calculations made by the Committee. What, if after all the carrying out of those principles, does *not* prove a loss to the juniors, but does call upon the State to meet part of the expenses involved in the boon conceded to the seniors? Very erroneous and exaggerated statements as to the effect of the rules have been put forward, even the writer of the articles in the *Englishman* committed the

extraordinary oversight of balancing the salaries plus the increased deputation allowances of 10 per cent. to acting incumbents for *furlough-holders*, against the salaries of the permanent appointments which they otherwise would have vacated, not seeing apparently that it is the increased deputation-allowance in *every* kind of acting appointment which forms the gain, and the loss resulting from acting instead of permanent appointments in the case of only furloughs of the existing kind which forms the loss. Again, many men have written as if the non-vacating appointments by furlough-holders would permanently retard promotion up to the rank of High Court Judge, whereas it obviously can only retard promotion up to the position in the list of the man who takes furlough. If 20 furloughs are taken by men between the 60th and 120th names on the list, it is evident that the 121st man will be 20 places lower down than he would have been, had furlough necessitated the vacating of the absentee's appointment, but the 59th man will be no worse off than before; while those between the 60th and 120th would be retarded, more or less, according to the number absent on furlough above or below them. At present a man gets the entire benefit of the loss of appointments by furlough-holders, as long as all of them are above him. When, however, he reaches the stage at which, while furlough-holders above him are returning, furlough in return is being taken only by those below him, he loses his previous advantage step by step, often hardly moving one place up the list for two or three years, till at length when the last man above him has returned and obtained an appointment proper to his standing, he is no higher up than he would have been, had the rule regarding vacating appointments never existed. The loss, therefore, under the Committee's proposal will fall chiefly on those below, and partly on those in the middle of the furlough range, *under the old rules*. This proviso must be remembered: juniors will lose under the new rules not by every furlough taken, nor even by every furlough taken for the first time, or up to three years; for many men will be induced to take furlough under the new rules, who would not have done so under the old, but by every furlough which *would have been taken under the old rules*; but which will now be taken under the new: this loss, moreover, will be the difference between the salary for acting from a lower substantive appointment, and that for succeeding to the permanent appointment of the absentee. It is, however, to be counteracted by an increased deputation-allowance of 10 per cent., the effect of which will be, (1) that the loss will be lessened by 10 per cent. on the appointment of the furlough-holders; while

(2) it will be further reduced by 10 per cent. more than at present for all those who are acting for persons absent on medical leave, private affairs leave, or privilege leave. At first sight it would look as if this gain would more than counterbalance the entire loss, and that the result would be an absolute gain to the Service: this would be the case if, under the new rules, a man reached the next stage (say) 1st Grade Joint Magistrate, before acting in the higher rank (say) Magistrate; but the retention of appointments by furlough-holders will retard permanent promotion so much, while it will rather quicken acting promotion, that it will be probably found in Bengal that all the 2nd Grade Joint Magistrates and even a few of the highest Assistants will be acting Magistrates. Still the increased deputation-allowance, *all round*, will obviously greatly reduce the loss to those who are working for absentees while the gain to the leave-holders will evidently remain in full: if, therefore, the workers in India lose but little, while the leave-holders gain much, the change will obviously be a boon to the Service at large, and except in very peculiar circumstances to every member of it. How far this is the case is the question which we must now endeavour to answer for Bengal and the North-Western-Provinces, from the best statistics we can get; but before doing so, we must say a few words on two other alterations—one proposed by the Committee, the other ordered by the Secretary of State—which affect materially the question of the apportionment of the loss and gain between seniors and juniors, though as they are independent and disconnected proposals, and in no way affect or enter into the general results of the vacating or retaining appointments, we have thought it better to abstain from complicating that question by noticing them before. The first is the proposal of the Committee to alter the maximum and minimum allowances for officers taking medical leave on furlough with retention of appointment, from £1,000, and £500, per annum, to £1,200 and £300 per annum. On the principles which we have above advocated, nothing could be worse than the general tendency of this proposal. The defects of the Committee's proposals are obviously, that they press hardly upon the junior members of the Service, yet this proposal, which is no integral part of the general scheme, needlessly and (using the word not in an offensive sense) wantonly aggravates these defects. It takes still more from juniors and curtails their leave allowances, and gives still more to seniors. Of course the Committee recommend it by a different argument which might be a good one were it not that passage-money makes such a material item in the absentee

allowance of all, and were it a question of forming a new service in which there were no vested interests; but when in plain language it means that the leave allowances of about the most unfortunate set of men, who ever came out in the service are to be reduced in order to improve the leave allowances of those who have had more than their average share of luck in promotion, such an argument ought not to be for a moment admitted. Still, however, there is one light in which it is worth consideration. The Committee give certain figures to show that the gain at the new maximum would be counterbalanced by the loss at the new minimum, but the argument is so transparently fallacious that so far from being an equivalent, the change may result in a considerable gain to the Service, and although the first fruits of this would fall into the lap of the seniors, the total gain might be sufficient to make it worth the while of juniors to consent to some sacrifice now, in order to obtain it afterwards. The Committee take the statistics of all those who have been absent on medical leave during the last three years, and show that their allowances would have been as nearly as possible the same in the aggregate, had the maximum and minimum been altered. But the question is not what the effect would have been under *the old rules* had the maximum and minimum been altered, but what the effect will be under the new rules if this maximum and minimum are applied to all who will take furlough either\* medical or private affairs. Does the class then from which the illustration is taken fairly represent the class to which the change will apply? Obviously not. Three important modifications must be introduced, two of which tend to make the alteration more favorable to the Service, and one more unfavorable. To take the latter first, the absentees from whose allowances the statistics were compiled, had had the benefit of the existing Furlough Rules. Many, in fact *all*, of those whose substantive pay ranged between 900 and 500 a month would have been further losers under the new minimum, while they would have drawn the same as at present, under the present minimum. That is, the five men in the Committee's table on 900 would have gone home on 700 or even taking the former figure 500, they would have drawn 2,080 Rs. at a minimum of £500 and 1,750 Rs. at the minimum of £300 instead of each 2,250 Rs. as at present. The twelve on 700 would have gone home on 500, and would have drawn Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 3,000 respectively, instead of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 4,200 as at

present. The total allowances of both lists would of course have been reduced by the fall in the 1,200 and 1,500 appointments. but the relative reduction would have been the same above 900 Rs. The difference then would have been that, instead of the introduction of the maximum and minimum showing a total improvement of 517 Rs, it would have shown a total deterioration of at least 1,013 Rs., instead of 89,283 Rs., and 89,800 Rs. as shown by the Committee, the total absentee allowances would have exhibited a decline from about 84,000 to about 83,000.

But these statistics are compiled for men absent on sick leave at every stage of their service from one month to 35 years. They are to be applied to two classes. (A) absentees on medical leave as at present, (B) absentees under the new private affairs Furlough Rules. The class selected, probably gives a very fair illustration of (A), but obviously it is a false basis for (B), since B will perforce consist of only those above 8 years' standing. For this class the gain by the increased maximum will be very great, the loss by the new minimum much less than before. This gain alone will probably much more than balance the greater loss from the previous cause. But many men who take sick leave are not absolutely compelled to do so; many men who ought to go manage not to do so; some who need not go, can make out a sufficiently strong case for a certificate if they wish it. The alterations in the maximum and minimum will obviously have the effect of deterring men from taking leave early, and giving them a greater inducement to take it late in their service, that is to say, it will tend to increase the gain from the new maximum, and to diminish the loss from the new minimum.

As regards then this proposal, the conclusion seems obvious. Its tendency to take from juniors and give to seniors is a very bad one, aggravating the defects of the other proposals, but it may be a good one if the total gain so much exceeds the total loss, as to make it worth the while of the juniors to run the risk of that loss at once, from the chance of the gain hereafter.

The alteration ordered by the Secretary of State is simply this that, instead of the 6 months' leave on private affairs, which are allowed to a man once for all in his service, being taken on half pay whatever its amount, as hitherto, the half pay is to be limited to the maximum and minimum prescribed for medical leave. The effect is, that every officer taking that leave on a salary exceeding 2,000 a month, if the

maximum is £1,200 a year, or 1,666 a month, if the maximum is 1,000 a year, will lose, while only those who take leave when drawing less than 500 a month with a minimum of £300 a year, or less than 833 a month with a minimum of £500 a year, will gain. In either case the alteration will obviously involve much more loss than gain, and is, therefore, a fine to the service, but as it falls upon the seniors, who otherwise gain, it is not a bad alteration if the saving which results is allowed to be used to diminish the harder points of the scheme in other respects.

Let us then assume that the lists for Bengal and the North-Western Provinces as they stood on the 1st April, 1868, fairly represent the average state of those services as regards total numbers, appointments belonging to the service and numbers absent on leave of every description. Where they obviously do not do so, an allowance must be made. In order to analyse the effects of the scheme, we take these lists as they stand, and as they would have been modified, had the new proposals come into regular working : we assume that each special appointment-holder would have held the same appointment that he does now, and though this would probably not be the case, yet as it would otherwise greatly complicate the question, and as it would make little, or no difference in the general result we think it most convenient to assume it : to each absentee on furlough or person out of employment after return from furlough, we allot the appointment in the regular line corresponding to his position, and throwing back of course those below him in the regular line one step. This again is not absolutely correct, since he should be given the position he held when he went on leave, as of course officers will not be promoted during absence, but this too would lead to intricate enquiries, and could not materially affect the general result.

We will begin then with Bengal on these principles, and analyse the effects of the change upon—1st leave-holders of every description. 2ndly, Those who are left at work. Those, however, who are out of employ, but have returned to duty, should be included for this purpose among the leave-holders, and not among the workers, since their gain, whatever it may be under the new scheme, is entirely due to the more favourable terms on which they can take their leave. It should, therefore, be exhibited as a gain to leave-takers, and not to workers in consequence of the new Deputation Allowance Rules.

We will first take leave-holders ; those on furlough we mark (\*), those on subsistence allowance, (+), those on medical leave (‡),



those on private affairs leave (§), and those on privilege leave (||), those without any mark are out of employ on protracted leave, and we assume that the position of these would have been unaltered for convenience sake though as a fact they could retain their appointments for 24 instead of 20 months. In Bengal there would be absolutely no difference on this account. We will exhibit separately the effects of the new rules, supposing the maximum and minimum of £1,000 and £500 were retained and supposing them to be abandoned for £1,200 and £300, and thus one table will enable a complete comparison to be made. The numbers are those on the Bengal list for April 1868, and the figures represent the monthly gain or loss in rupees.

## Leave-holders.

MAXIMUM £1,000, MINIMUM £500.			MAXIMUM £1,200, MINIMUM £300.		
Same as at present Nos.	Gainers, Nos. and Amounts.	Losers, Nos. and Amounts.	Same as at present Nos.	Gainers, Nos. and Amounts.	Losers, Nos. and Amounts.
2			2	11 ‡ Rs. 166	12 ‡ 1083
11 ‡		12 ‡ Rs. 1250	16	20 ‡ „ 166	
16				22 ‡ „ 166	
20 ‡				32 ‡ „ 166	
22 ‡			29		
29			38		40 ‡ Rs. 250
32 ‡				41 * „ 582	
38		40 ‡ Rs. 416	46    •	54 * „ 541	
				56 * „ 541	
46	41 * Rs. 416			69 * „ 541	
	54 * „ 416			72 ‡ „ 166	
	56 * „ 416			73 ‡ „ 541	
	69 * „ 416			74 * „ 541	
72 ‡	73 * „ 416			77 ‡ „ 1,576	
	74 * „ 416			81 ‡ „ 541	
	77 ‡ „ 1,576			82 ‡ „ 541	
	81 * „ 416			85 ‡ „ 306	
	82 * „ 416			86 ‡ „ 333	
	85 ‡ „ 306			87 ‡ „ 610	
	86 * „ 333			88 * „ 333	
	87 ‡ „ 610	92 Rs. 416			92    „ 416
	88 * „ 333			97 * „ 33	
	97 * „ 33			98 * „ 33	
	98 * „ 33			107 * „ 33	103    „ 690
	107 * „ 33	103    Rs. 500		109 * „ 33	108 ‡ „ 300
	109 * „ 33	108 ‡ „ 300	110		
110	112 * „ 33			112 * „ 33	
	114 * „ 33			114 * „ 33	
132 •		118    „ 200			118    „ 200
		119 ‡ „ 334			119 ‡ „ 400
		125 ‡ „ 334			125 ‡ „ 400
		126    „ 200	163		126    „ 200
		146 ‡ „ 33	174		132 * „ 66
		147 ‡ „ 33			132 * „ 66
					146 ‡ „ 200
					147 ‡ „ 200
					151 ‡ „ 166
					179 ‡ „ 166
					181 ‡ „ 166
					187 ‡ „ 166
					194 ‡ „ 166
151 ‡					
163					
174					
179 ‡			204		200 ‡ „ 150
181 ‡					
187 ‡					
191 ‡			214		
204			216		
209 ‡					
214					
216					
Total 23	19 Rs. 6,684	11 Rs. 4,116	11	21 Rs. 8,555	18 Rs. 5,295

The above list shows very clearly both the corresponding effects of the new and old maxima and minima, and the benefits to leave-holders by the operation of the new rules : nearly all furlough-holders gain in either case ; with the maximum of £1,200, a great many of the absentees on medical leave also gain : on the contrary, at the lower end of the list many absentees on privilege leave lose considerably, as they would hold less valuable substantive appointments : while junior absentees on medical leave lose in either case by their taking leave on less valuable appointments, and in the case of the lower minimum of £300 by their half-pay falling below Rs. 416 a month. In either case a heavy loss is caused at the top of the list by the Secretary of State's reduction of the allowance to be drawn on private affairs leave.

Had the Secretary of State not insisted on this reduction, the total gain to leave-holders at the present maximum and minimum would have been 4,234 Rs. per mensem, or above  $\frac{1}{2}$  lac annually. At the proposed maximum and minimum, the total gain would have been 4,593 Rs. monthly, or nearly 55,000 Rs. annually. Even with that reduction the new rules are worth above 30,000 Rs. in the one case, and nearly 40,000 in the other to the absentees. This confirms our anticipation that the new maximum and minimum will prove a gain to the service on the whole, though it aggravates the immediate losses of the juniors.

Before making further remarks, let us analyse the effects upon the non-leave-holders or workers, and see what their losses are.

Leave-holders.	WORKERS.			
	No alteration.	Gainers.	Losers.	
2	1			
11 & 12	3-10			
16	13-15			
20	17-19			
22		21 Rs. 417		
29	23-28			
32	30 & 31			
38	33-37			
40 & 41*		39 Rs. 217		
46	42-45			
	48-53	47 Rs. 133		
54*	55			
56*	57			
		58 Rs. 133		
	60	59 Rs. 292		
	62	61 Rs. 133		
	64 & 65	63 Rs. 133		
		66 Rs. 250		
		67 Rs. 133		
		68 Rs. 292		
69*		70 Rs. 292		
72, 73,* 74*	71			
	75			
77+		76 Rs. 292		
81* 82*	78-80			
	83			
85+			84 Rs. 416	
86*				
87+				
88*				
			89 Rs. 166	
			90 Rs. 416	
			91 Rs. 416	
92			93 Rs. 166	
			94 Rs. 504	
			95 Rs. 504	
			96 Rs. 88	
97* & 98*			99 Rs. 88	
			100 Rs. 88	
	101		102 Rs. 88	
103			104 Rs. 88	

Leave-holders.	WORKERS.			
	No alteration.	Gainers.	Losers.	
107*			105 Rs. 88	
108, 109, *110			106 Rs. 88	
112*			111 Rs. 88	
114*		113 Rs. 171		
	116		115 Rs. 88	
118 & 119		117 Rs. 171		
	121		120 Rs. 130	
			122 Rs. 29	
	124		123 Rs. 29	
125, 126			127 Rs. 29	
			128 Rs. 29	
			129 Rs. 29	
			130 Rs. 65	
			131 Rs. 29	
132*	133		134 Rs. 229	
		136 Rs. 70	135 Rs. 229	
	138		137 Rs. 229	
	140	139 Rs. 171		
	142		141 Rs. 229	
	144		143 Rs. 229	
			145 Rs. 130	
146				
147	148		149 Rs. 229	
			150 Rs. 29	
151			152 Rs. 229	
			153 Rs. 130	
			154 Rs. 229	
	155			
		156 Rs. 70		
		158 Rs. 145	157 Rs. 130	
	159			
	161	160 Rs. 70		
		162 Rs. 70		
163			164 Rs. 130	
		165 Rs. 70		
		166 Rs. 70		
	167	168 Rs. 70		
	169			
	171	171 Rs. 70		
	172			
	173			
174				

Leave-holders.	WORKERS.			
	No alteration.	Gainers.	Losers.	
		175 Rs. 70 176 Rs. 70 177 Rs. 70		
179	178	180 Rs. 70		
181			182 Rs. 29	
	183	184 Rs. 70 185 Rs. 70		
	186			
187	188 & 189	190 Rs. 70		
	191	192 Rs. 70 193 Rs. 70		
194		195 Rs. 70 196 Rs. 70		
	197	198 Rs. 70		
	199	200 Rs. 70		
	201 to 203			
204	205 to 208			
209	210	211 Rs. 70		
	212 & 213			
214	215			
216	217—242			
53	113	38 Rs. 4,915	38 Rs. 6,159	

In analysing the above list it will be advantageous to divide it into 12 parts, each containing 20 names; and it will be observed that if all years were of an average length, promotion should very nearly run as follows:—In the first 8 years' service, a man should properly get through about 80 names, that is  $\frac{4}{5}$ ths or  $\frac{1}{5}$ ; in the next 9 years he should get through the next, 80; and in the next 8 years, making 25 years' service, he should get through  $\frac{4}{5}$ ths more or the next 60 names. The last 20 should, approximately, consist of men who are staying on after completing their full service.

We find then that the first 20 on the list gain and lose nothing as regards 'workers,' whereas the leave-holders lose Rs. 1,083 and gain Rs. 332. This loss is caused entirely by one officer on a salary of £5,000, being absent on

private affairs leave, the value of which, in such an appointment, is so enormously reduced by the Secretary of State's order. On the other hand, while only two officers were on leave, such as to enable them to obtain the higher maximum, it is evident that hereafter the tendency will be for more to avail themselves of such leave. Looking, therefore, at all the circumstances we may say that the  $\frac{1}{3}$  at the top of the list, the men of over 25 years' standing will be left pretty much as they are. Assuming that the maximum is to be £1,200, we find that the next 20 gain Rs. 332 per mensem, and lose Rs. 250 in the value of leave, and gain Rs. 634 per mensem as workers. The next  $\frac{1}{3}$ ths, or from 40 to 80 gain Rs. 5,029 per mensem and lose nothing when taking leave, and also gain Rs. 2,083 per mensem to divide among their workers. This point of No. 80 will be seen to be a particularly convenient line between seniors and juniors. In the first place, assuming that the number of appointments remains pretty much the same as at present, it will be found that the last Magistrate and Collector of the 1st Grade will, under the new scheme, by which appointments are not vacated, as nearly as possible coincide with the 80th name on the list. It is the very point above which, had it not been for the Secretary of State's modification of private affairs leave, the gain by the new scheme would have been complete and unalloyed by any loss whatsoever; while below that line the gain will always be chequered with some loss, and generally exceeded by it. It is on this account that we selected this as the distinguishing point between seniors and juniors in the earlier part of the article. And the advantage of this is shown to be the greater, when it is remembered that, assuming that the number of appointments in the service of Rs. 1,916 and upwards remain approximately the same, the above remarks will always be true as regards this limit. Increase the service to 300 or diminish it to 200, still the valuable appointments being the same in number, the 80th place always will be that at which the advantages of the new rules become most conspicuous; though the number of years which it will take a man to gain this place, will of course depend on the numbers in the service, as well as on the length of the years that precede his.

But to proceed. The next  $\frac{1}{3}$ ths, or from 81 to 120, gain Rs. 2,862 per mensem, and lose 1,916 for those on leave. While those at work lose Rs. 3,510 against a trifling gain of 342. The next  $\frac{1}{3}$ ths, or from 121 to 160, lose as regards leave Rs. 1,232 per mensem, and gain nothing. Their working mem-

bers lose Rs. 2,490 per mensem, and as a set-off gain Rs. 526. The next  $\frac{1}{3}$ ths, or from 161 to 200, lose Rs. 664 as regards leaves, but gain Rs. 1,260 against a loss of 159 only among those on duty. The last  $\frac{1}{3}$ ths, or from 201 to the end (242), are, like the first 40, scarcely affected by the rules, one member on leave loses Rs. 150 a month, another who is acting as a Joint Magistrate gains Rs. 70. We find, therefore, that to the lowest 40 but one on the list, the rules on the whole exhibit a loss to those on leave, of Rs. 664 per month, but a net gain to those not on leave of Rs. 1,101. They gain on the whole therefore, Rs. 437 per mensem, or about Rs. 5,200 a year. The next 40 lose on the whole Rs. 3,196, or about Rs. 38,000 annually. The next 40, similarly, lose as nearly as possible Rs. 28,000. The next 40 gain about Rs. 85,000.

From these figures and the preceding calculation it is not difficult to calculate roundly how far this scheme would benefit the service, that is to say, new comers or those now in the last 40. *Assuming the years above them to be of average and proper length*, every such person should be from his 5th to the end of his 8th year in passing from 200 to 160. Assuming, as is approximately true, that the gain during this period is equally distributed over the 40 members, he would on an average gain Rs. 130 per annum, which may without error be treated as an entire gain of Rs. 520, in a lump at the end of his 6th year. He would then be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years in getting from Nos. 160 to 120, and on the same calculation his loss would be 950 Rs. per annum, or what may without error be regarded as a lump sum of 4,275 deducted from his pay when of  $10\frac{1}{4}$  years' standing. Another  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years (had we wished to be very exact we should have said  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in the former and  $4\frac{2}{3}$  in this case) should take him from 120 to 80. Here, his average loss will be Rs. 700 annually, or a lump sum of Rs. 3,150 taken from him at  $14\frac{1}{4}$  years' standing. About 5 more years should take him from 80 to 40, and during this period he would gain Rs. 2,125 annually, or a lump sum of Rs. 10,625 at  $19\frac{1}{4}$  years' standing.

But in uniting together these gains and losses, allowance must be made for the fact that a man who obtains the first gain may not remain to endure the first loss, or if he does he may not remain for the second loss or again for the great gain afterwards. The value of these to a man at the beginning of the service should be successively diminished somewhat to make the calculation correct. Approximately this should be  $\frac{1}{5}$ th for every 4 years. The figures then become (assuming that he obtains the first gain, and if not, the scheme does not



affect him) + 520 at the end of 6 years,—3,955, at 10½,—2,690 at 14½ years, + 8,240 at 19½ years.

If interest is allowed at the rate of 5 per cent., Rs. 520 will be equal to Rs. 640, nearly 4½ years late. Hence the net loss then will be about Rs. 3,300. A loss of Rs. 3,300 will, at the same interest, accumulate to about Rs. 4,200, 4½ years later, the total net loss, therefore, may be reckoned at Rs. 6,890, at 14½ years' standing. This, however, will again have increased to Rs. 8,615, 4½ years later. Hence up to the stage of his reaching the top 40 in the service, a Civilian newly entering the service will have failed fully to recover his losses as a junior with a due allowance for interest. He will no doubt continue to gain above that limit under the rules, but we are justified in saying that the most the new rules will effect will be to leave him in *statu quo* as far as his pecuniary position is concerned.

As a whole, therefore, the Civil Service of the Lower Provinces would be perhaps no losers by the Committee's proposals. The present seniors between the 40th and the 80th on the list would be enormous gainers, but none would be losers *were promotion average throughout*. But as we have already shown in the earlier part of the article, promotion will not be average. It will be average down to about the 160th on the list, but it will then rapidly deteriorate till from about 200 to 230 it will be deplorably slow. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these persons would be absolute losers and they are those who can least afford to lose. It is, therefore, very fortunate for the justice of the measure as a whole, that Sir Stafford Northcote, while he docked the allowances for officers on private affairs leave, made a suggestion which will, if adopted, give back to the service liberally in other kinds of leave what he took away from the seniors in that kind of leave. The loss to the last 120 members of the service on leave, is almost entirely due to the great deterioration in substantive appointments, owing to the furlough-holders retaining their appointments, and to leave of every kind being taken on the substantive appointment only. A comparison of the leave lists under each maximum and minimum, shows that out of the loss of Rs. 3,962 (excluding the loss from the reduction of pay on private affairs leave) Rs. 2,450 was entirely due to this cause, while of the remaining Rs. 1,500, a great part would have disappeared had the absentee been able to count his acting allowance. Sir Stafford Northcote's suggestion was, that some means should be taken to enable acting incumbents to take

their leave without so great a sacrifice. We understand that it is proposed to allow every officer, who has been acting in an appointment for a year, to take leave on both his substantive and acting allowances. (a) And we presume also that he would be given a lien on his appointment against every body except the substantive holder of it, and even against him unless he could not be provided for elsewhere. If this is adopted, it will greatly enhance the benefit of the new rules, and we hardly think that any member of the service will be a loser in that event. It must also be remembered as far as existing members are concerned, that we have been comparing the state of affairs as it is, with what it will be when the new system has got into full working, but it will take 3 or 4 years to absorb all the furlough-holders, and it is not till they are all absorbed, that the full extent of the loss can be felt. On the other hand, the full extent of the gain will take place at once; and it will be greater still if the Local Governments adopt a suggestion which has been made, that the vacancies should be given alternately to members returned from furlough and to the next on the regular list. If this is adopted it will extend the process of absorption over 6 or 7 years, and that time must elapse before the full effects of the loss will be felt. Nor will this be any appreciable loss to the furlough-holders. Till absorbed, they are to have a deputation allowance of 75 per cent. on the appointment in which they act, instead of 50 per cent. as at present, and as this will begin from the moment they commence acting work, it will probably be better for them than to act on less pay for 3 to 12 months, and then get a substantive appointment which would be a little more than they would be drawing, if it was as high as a 1st Grade Magistrate and Collector, but not otherwise. If this is adopted, the full loss will fall on none above the 15th to 20th Assistant with full powers. Were the scheme to take full effect instantaneously, and existing incumbents to be pushed down to make way for furlough absentees all the lowest 20 Joint Magistrates would be reduced to 2nd Grade Joint Magistrates or Assistants, while their loss would only be partially returned to them by the increased deputation allowance. As it is, however, instead of being losers at once, they will be gainers by Rs. 171 per mensem, and continue so up to the period when, had the new rules not come in they would have obtained their Rs. 1,500. On the contrary, those just at the top

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(a) We have subsequently heard that a much less favorable proposition has been substituted for this.

of any grade will have their losses least modified by the gradual operation of the scheme, unless the suggestion above referred to is adopted; and this forms an additional ground for adopting it, namely, that it mitigates the loss of those who would otherwise be the greatest losers.

On the whole therefore, looking to the fact that the gain will be immediate while the loss to many in the service will only come in gradually; that were promotion regular the new scheme would be a boon to every one, and that the proposition to allow acting incumbents to take leave from their acting appointments, will greatly mitigate the losses, and make it a benefit even to the most unlucky in promotion; taking all this into consideration, we are decidedly of opinion that the Lower Provinces' service will benefit in the long run. It is true we have only hitherto touched upon losses and gains which are absolutely calculable, while there are other effects, such as the increased rapidity of acting appointments on the one hand or the inducement to men to stay longer on the other, which may modify these calculations. That they will do so slightly is true, but we are of opinion that these ulterior effects will be much less than is supposed, and that they will be, as nearly as possible, equally balanced. This we will revert to hereafter, after completing the calculation of obvious and necessary effects, both in Bengal and the North-West Provinces.

To complete the former we have only one more step to go through—one very necessary improvement to suggest—one which at about the same cost to Government will greatly improve the scheme by lessening the gain of those who gain most, and to an equal extent reducing the loss of those who lose most.

The broad principle of the Committee's scheme is to remove the terrible drawbacks under which furlough is now taken, and as this will injure the salaries of those who remain at work, to return them at least a part of their losses in the form of increased deputation-allowances. But as a mere glance at the table above will show their method of doing this contains a palpable blot. By the alteration of the furlough rule, *no one* is a loser among the first 80, the total loss of Rs. 6,159 is shared among the last 160 exclusively. The total gain, which the increased deputation-allowances give as a set-off to the above loss incurred by the workers is Rs. 4,945, but instead of this gain all going as it obviously should do, to men of the same standing as those who are losing, upwards of Rs. 2,000 of it, nearly one-half goes to improve

the salaries of the workers among the first 80, of those who neither do nor can lose any thing?

This faulty incidence of the increased deputation-allowance is obviously a great injustice, and one, too, which an alteration in the division of it can easily rectify, instead of giving 30 per cent. of to Rs. 2,000 and 20 per cent. for all sums above that amount, the arrangement should be to give  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd deputation-allowance up to Rs. 2,000, and nothing on sums above that amount, to every person whose substantive appointment is less than that of a 1st Grade Magistrate and Collector, (Rs. 1,916 a month), and to leave existing rules to stand for deputation allowances of all whose substantive appointments do not exceed Rs. 1,916. The *rationale* of this alteration is easily stated, and the line chosen is not a capricious one. Existing rules should clearly be left for those who will not be losers by the retention of appointments. An officer whose substantive appointment is Rs. 1,916, can only be a loser by a Judge (not an Additional Judge), *who would have taken furlough under the old rules*, taking it under the new. But this was an event of the greatest rarity. No one of the present furlough-holders in Bengal took it from that rank, even No. 41, the highest, was only a 1st Grade Magistrate and Collector when he went home. Practically, therefore, it may be assumed that no tangible loss will ever be inflicted on officers who have reached Rs. 1,916 a month, by the alteration, in the Furlough Rule. Hence, all such persons should retain the present deputation-allowance rules. The  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd (33·3) per cent. is selected instead of 30 per cent. up to Rs. 2,000, because it is a simple fraction, and because it as nearly as possible produces the same results as far as the interests of the State are concerned.

Let us compare the list of workers as it stood with the Committee's proposal, and as it would have stood were the alteration we propose adopted. For the sake of convenience we will omit all, except gainers and losers.

EFFECT OF COMMITTEE'S PROPOSAL.			EFFECT OF PROPOSED ALTERATION.		
	Gainers.	Losers.		Gainers.	Losers.
	21 Rs. 416			39 Rs. 250	
	39 " 217				
	47 " 133				
	58 " 1 8				
	59 " 292				
	61 " 133				
	63 " 133				
	66 " 250			66 Rs. 216	
	67 " 133				
	68 " 292				
	70 " 292				
	76 " 292				
		84 Rs. 416			84 Rs. 416
		89 " 166			89 " 200
		90 " 416			90 " 416
		91 " 416			91 " 416
		93 " 166			93 " 200
		94 " 501			94 " 446
		95 " 5 4			95 " 416
		96 " 88			96 " 30
		99 " 88			99 " 30
		100 " 88			100 " 30
		102 " 88			102 " 30
		104 " 88			104 " 30
		105 " 88			105 " 30
		106 " 88			106 " 30
	113 Rs. 171	111 " 88		113 Rs. 228	111 " 30
	117 " 171	115 " 88		117 " 228	115 " 30
		120 " 130			120 " 100
		122 " 29			
		123 " 20		122 " 28	
		127 " 29		123 " 28	
		128 " 29		127 " 28	
		129 " 20		128 " 28	130 " 20
		130 " 05		129 " 28	134 " 172
		131 " 29		131 " 28	
		134 " 229			135 " 172
	236 " 70	135 " 229		136 " 100	137 " 172
	139 " 171	137 " 229		139 " 228	141 " 172
		141 " 229			143 " 172
		143 " 229			145 " 100
		145 " 139		150 " 28	
		149 " 229			149 " 172
	156 " 70	150 " 20			152 " 172
	158 " 145	153 " 229		156 " 100	118 " 200
20 more		153 " 130	and 20	158 " 100	151 " 172
between		154 " 229	between 160	182 " 28	137 " 100
160 at Rs.	70= 1,400	157 " 130	and 211 at		104 " 100
and 211		161 " 130	Rs. 100 each	= 2,000	
		182 " 29			
	4,915	6,159		3,769	4,706

The difference, therefore, in cost to the State between the two methods is inappreciable, but the improvement in the equitable incidence in the loss and gain is enormous. The first 80 instead of gaining Rs. 2,717, as workers, and losing nothing, gain Rs. 466 only, and even in these two cases the gain is obtained only because two of them who have returned from furlough have not yet succeeded in getting substantive appointments of more than Rs. 1,500, a month.

The next forty from 81 to 120, instead of losing 3,510 against a gain of 342 only, have their losses reduced to 2,910, and their gains raised to Rs. 456. These, though they gain somewhat, gain least by the change, but as they will be far better off with regard to leaves, it will rectify their position adequately. The next forty, from 121 to 160, would, by the Committee's proposal, lose Rs. 2,490, per mensem, and only gain 526, by the new scheme, their losses are reduced to Rs. 1,696, and their gains raised to Rs. 919. A very necessary mitigation of their loss, since at that stage of the service the new leave rules will be rather injurious than otherwise, even if the proposal to grant leave on acting appointments after one year is adopted. The last forty that we need notice, from 161 to 200, instead of gaining 1,260 against a loss of Rs. 159, gain Rs. 1,828, and lose only Rs. 100. This is a great improvement, since it ameliorates the position of those who must lose while on leave, and who also have the longest period to wait before they can attain the coveted position of one of the "upper eighty." We earnestly press upon the Government the propriety of adopting this modification of the deputation-allowance rules, the tendency of which is particularly desirable as mitigating the loss of those who can least afford to bear any loss owing to their ill-luck in regard to their promotion.

Let us now turn to the list for the North-Western Provinces, again, taking that of the 1st April, 1868. It is evident at a glance that the rules will be far less favourable to this service than to that of Bengal, but we were hardly prepared for the great disparity in results. Let us first give the lists of leave-holders and workers on precisely the same principles as before, and then comment on them.

*The Proposed Changes in the  
Leave-holders.*

MAXIMUM £1,000 MINIMUMS 500.			MAXIMUM £1,200 MINIMUMS 300.		
Same.	Gainers.	Losers.	Same.	Gainers.	Losers.
17		6 † Rs. 417	17		6 † Rs. 250
20		11 † „ 417	20		11 † „ 250
21			21		
27 †	24 * Rs. 416		24 * Rs. 583		
28			27 + „ 166		
29 †		35 † „ 417	28	29 † „ 166	33 † „ 250
35 †	38 * „ 416		35 † „ 166		
39 †			38 * „ 583		
45	40 * „ 416		39 † „ 166		
	53 + „ 785	42 † „ 250	40 * „ 583		42 † „ 250
	60 * „ 416		45	53 + „ 785	
69 †			60 * „ 583		
	70 + „ 660		70 + „ 660		69 † „ 166
	71 * „ 83		71 * „ 83		
	73 + „ 110		73 + „ 110		
	80 * „ 83		80 * „ 83		
	81 * „ 83		81 * „ 83		
	82 * „ 83		82 * „ 83		
	84 * „ 83		84 * „ 83		
	85 * „ 83		85 * „ 83		
88 †	86 * „ 83		86 * „ 83		
89			89	91 * „ 83	94 * „ 66
94 *	91 * „ 83				69 * „ 66
96 *			99 + „ 145		97 † „ 300
	99 + „ 145	97 † „ 300			106 * „ 66
106 *		111 † „ 500			111 † „ 500
115 *		112 † „ 84			112 † „ 250
116 †			116 †		115 * „ 166
173 †					173 † „ 166
177 †			179 †		177 † „ 166
	179 † „ 166				187 † „ 150
187 †					190 † „ 150
190 †					
21	17 Rs. 4,194	7 Rs. 2,885	9	20 Rs. 5,380	16 Rs. 3,213

Next let us take the list of workers.

Leave-holders.	WORKERS.		
	Same.	Gainers.	Losers.
6	1 to 5		
11	7 to 10		
17	12 to 16		
20 & 21	18 & 19		
24*	22 & 23		
27, 28 & 29	25 & 26		
33	30 to 32		
35	34		
38*	36 & 37		
39 & 40 *			
42	41		
45	43 & 44		
53+	46 to 52		
60*	54 to 59		72 Rs. 600
69	61 to 66		74 " 600
70+	67 & 68		75 " 600
71*			76 " 600
73+			78 " 600
80* 81* 82*		79 Rs. 225	
84* 15* 66*		83 " 225	
88 89		87 " 225	
91*	77	90 " 225	
94*	92		93 " 300
95*	95		
97	98		
99+	100 & 101		
106*	103 & 104		
	107		102 " 300
	109		105 " 300
	110		
111	113 & 114		108 " 300
113	117		
115* & 116			
	122		
	124		
	126 to 133		118 " 300
	135 to 172		119 " 300
173	174 to 176		120 " 300
177	178		121 " 300
179	180 to 186		123 " 300
187	188 & 189		125 " 300
190	191 to 200		124 " 300
45	135	4 Rs. 900	8, 340 16 Rs.



Analysing the above lists, we find that, as before, the new maximum and minimum is better for the service at large than the existing limits, but the total result is very unfavourable to the service in general and still more so of course to the juniors. To obtain a gain of Rs. 2,148 a month for the absentees, the workers have to sacrifice Rs. 5,440 and the service thereby loses Rs. 3,292 monthly, or above Rs. 39,000 per annum. The loss to the juniors will be of course much greater.

The causes of this great diversity can easily be seen. It is partly due to the list being an exceptional one. The more numerous the furloughs are, the more the loss by the change of rules is increased to working members. The more numerous leaves of other kinds are the more the improved deputation-allowances will benefit the working members under the new rules. Now, in Bengal there were on the list for April no less than 29 acting appointments at the bottom of the list, in the North-Western Provinces there are only 8 ! To have been in like proportion there should have been 20. On the other hand, the furloughs in the North-Western Provinces, including those on subsistence allowance after return were as numerous as in Bengal, instead of being  $\frac{1}{3}$ th less in number as they should have been to have preserved the proportion. While also, fewer seniors are absent on other kinds of leave, the number of juniors thus absent is greater, and hence the loss is greater under the new minimum. This exceptional character of the list, however, only accounts for a small portion of the disparity : it is chiefly due to the constitution of the North-Western service. Its Magistrates get so much that the present deputation-allowance is more than sufficient to give them the full salary of a Judge when acting in that capacity ; hence the increased deputation-allowances are no gain to an officer of this class as they are to a Magistrate and Collector in Bengal. On the other hand, the gap between a Magistrate and a Collector, and a 1st Grade Joint Magistrate is so great that, even with the new rules, an Acting Magistrate will draw Rs. 600 less than a substantive Magistrate, while in Bengal the loss will only be Rs. 504, if the Magistrate is of the first grade, and Rs. 88, if of the second. Of course there is in this a sort of rough justice, if the Magistrates and Collectors in the North-Western Provinces drew the same salaries as 1st Grade Magistrates and Collectors in Bengal, the new rules would be much less unfavourable to them. Again, the constitution of Joint Magistrates, though equally favourable under present rules, is less favourable under the new rules than that in Bengal. In the North-Western Provinces a Joint Magistrate of the second grade is what his name indicates, that is, he cannot act for a 1st Grade Joint Magistrate, while an

Assistant can act for him. In Bengal a 2nd Grade Joint Magistrate is only a 1st Grade Assistant, and should be properly called so. He can act for a Joint Magistrate of the first grade, but an Assistant *cannot* act for him. Under existing rules this makes no difference in the total emoluments unless a Joint Magistrate of the second grade is himself on leave, in which case the North Western Provinces' rule is the most advantageous. For instance, say that there are 10 acting vacancies in the North Western Provinces, down to and including the 1st Grade Joint Magistrates, 9 of these will be filled by 2nd Grade Joint Magistrates with no acting allowance, but the 10th together with the 9 acting vacancies thus created in the second grade, will give acting appointments to 10 Assistants of 200 Rs. a month. The total acting allowances will, therefore, be Rs. 2,000. Were the Bengal system introduced, the nine 2nd Grade Joint Magistrates would each draw 200 a month for officiating as 1st Grade Joint Magistrates, but as no one officiates for them, there would only be one officiating vacancy left for the Assistants, so that the result would be as before  $200 \times 9 + 200 = 2,000$ .

Under the new rules, however, a change to the Bengal constitution would be better. Taking the same case as above, the 10 Assistants, who will act, can get no more than before, as no greater deputation-allowance can be drawn than such as raises the salary to that of the lowest grade of the appointment in which the person is officiating, hence under the new rules the total deputation-allowance will be the same as before—Rs. 2,000. Under the Bengal system, however, it would not be so—the nine 2nd Grade Joints would draw 200 each, total Rs. 2,700Rs., while the Assistant who would act being no longer limited to 700, as the second grade is no longer a lower grade of the same kind of appointment, as the 1st Grade Joint Magistrate, would also draw Rs. 300. Hence, the total acting allowances under the Bengal system would be Rs. 3,000 a month, instead of Rs. 2,000 under the North-Western Provinces.

The memorialists for the North-Western Provinces are, therefore, quite right in asking for a change of system in this respect, though as we understand their memorial, they go further and seem to wish 2nd Grade Joint Magistrates to act for first grade, as well as Assistants to act for second, which would be inadmissible, and is not allowed in Bengal. The nominal 2nd Grade Joint Magistrate must be either a Joint Magistrate or a higher grade of Assistant. If the latter, as he is in Bengal, lower grade Assistants obviously cannot act for

him without introducing a fundamental change into the existing rules for acting allowances.

This proposal of the North-Western Provinces' memorialists is, therefore, a good one and should be granted, but the constitution of their service is too radically defective to enable such alterations as this to make the scheme beneficial to them, or even to make their gains balance their losses. The substantive salaries must be re-cast, and the immense gap between the Joint Magistrate and the Magistrate shortened before any sensible amendment can be made. We recommend the following alterations to their best consideration :—

The nine 2nd Grade Joint Magistrates should be converted, as in Bengal, into as many 1st Class Assistants on 700 a month.

There are then 27	Magistrates on	2,250=60,750
" " 21	Joint Magistrates on	1,000=21,000
" " 9	1st Grade Assistants	700= 6,300
on and we may safely say		
never less than 20	Assistants on	500,=10,000

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77

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Rs. 98,050

These should be re-cast into

27	Magistrates on	2,000=54,000
27	Joint Magistrates on	1,100=29,700
15	1st Class Assistants	700=10,500
8	Assistants	500= 4,000
<hr/>		
77		98,200
<hr/>		

It is thus obvious that in substantive appointments the cost to Government would be just the same as at present, while there would remain precisely the same number of officers drawing these salaries; and of course the number of Judges, &c., above, and of Assistants with full powers below the 77 selected, would remain unaltered. Existing Magistrates would, of course, draw the same salary as at present, and perhaps the interests of the few Joint Magistrates at the top of the list would require protection, but this is a matter of temporary detail, which we need not enter into. Our object is to shew how greatly the service, as a whole, would gain by the change under the action of the new rules.

Let us then compare in the case of the existing service the gains and losses under the new rules, as well those which would result were our suggestions adopted.

EFFECT OF NEW RULES ON SERVICE AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED.		EFFECT OF NEW RULES ON SERVICE CONSTI- TUTED AS PROPOSED.	
Gainers.	Losers.	Gainers.	Losers.
		34 Rs. 100	37 Rs. 250
			48 " 250
			50 " 250
			51 " 250
			52 " 250
			54 " 250
			55 " 250
			58 " 250
			59 " 250
			61 " 250
			62 " 250
			64 " 250
			65 " 250
			66 " 250
			72 " 550
			74 " 550
			75 " 550
			76 " 550
			78 " 550
			79 " 550
			80 " 550
			81 " 550
			82 " 550
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Before commenting on this, let us also show the effect upon the leave-holders who will be also benefitted, since Rs. 2,000 will give the maximum as well as Rs. 2,250, to one absent on furlough or private affairs leave. The Magistrates on furlough will, therefore, lose nothing, while the Joint Magistrates and 1st Class Assistants will be obvious gainers. We will assume that the maximum is to be £1,200, and the minimum £300, and only include gainers and losers.

EFFECT OF NEW RULES ON SERVICE AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED.		EFFECT OF NEW RULES ON SERVICE CON- STITUTED AS PROPOSED.	
Gainers.	Losers.	Gainers.	Losers.
24 Rs. 583	6 Rs. 250	24 Rs. 583	6 Rs. 250
27 " 166	11 " 250	27 " 166	11 " 250
29 " 166	33 " 250	29 " 166	33 " 250
35 " 166		35 " 166	
38 " 583		38 " 583	
39 " 166		39 " 166	
40 " 583	42 " 250	40 " 583	42 " 500
52 " 785		53 " 583	
60 " 583	69 " 166	60 " 583	69 " 166
70 " 680		70 " 780	
71 " 83		71 " 133	
73 " 110		73 " 210	
80 " 83		80 " 133	
81 " 83		81 " 133	
82 " 83		82 " 133	
84 " 83		84 " 133	
85 " 83		85 " 133	
86 " 83		86 " 133	
		91 " 133	
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		97 " 100	
		99 " 245	
91 " 83			
	94 " 66		
	96 " 66		
99 " 145*	97 " 300		
	106 " 66		106 " 66
	111 " 500		111 " 300
	112 " 250		112 " 66
	115 " 166		115 " 66
	173 " 166		173 " 166
	177 " 166		177 " 166
	187 " 150		187 " 150
	190 " 150		190 " 150
Total 20 Rs. 5,360	16 Rs. 3,212	23 Rs. 6,176	13 Rs. 2,546

Instead, therefore, of cutting the workers Rs. 5,440 per mensem to give improved allowances of Rs. 2,148 per mensem to those on leave; the benefit to those on leave is increased to Rs. 3,630 monthly, which is purchased at an expense to the workers of Rs. 2,970 only. Instead of the service losing Rs. 37,000 per annum, it would gain about Rs. 8,000.

But this is by no means the only improvement which would result from re-constituting the Magistrates and Joint Magistrates in the manner we have suggested. It will also have the effect of distributing the gain and loss equitably over the whole service, instead of concentrating the gain on the seniors, and the loss on the juniors.

We must now proceed to show this as in the case of Bengal, and it is worthy of remark that the same division into the upper  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and the lower  $\frac{2}{3}$ rd, is a most convenient one in the North-Western Provinces also. The list consists of 200 names, and it will be found as before, that the valuable appointments—Rs. 2,000 and upwards—will just supply the ‘upper  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd’ of the service, the first 66 or 67. It is here, too, that the gain under the new system terminates, and the loss begins. And this furnishes us with another argument for increasing the salaries of the Joint Magistrates to Rs. 1,100. These appointments do not, in fact, correspond to the 900 Rs. appointments in Bengal, but they correspond partly to the 1,500 Rs., and partly to the 900 Rs. appointments. Of course we are not speaking of the duties which these officers have to perform, that is a different question, we are only speaking of the constitution of the service. There are 200 on the North-Western Provinces list, and 242 on the Bengal list. For one-third of the 200 there are appointments, ranging down to 2,000, including all the Magistrates and Collectors; for one-third of the Bengal list there are appointments, ranging down to Rs. 1,916, and including all the 1st Grade Magistrates and Collectors.

For the next one-third, there are in the North-Western Provinces Joint Magistrates of both grades, Settlement Officers, and a certain number of miscellaneous appointments, ranging from Rs. 1,700 to 700. In the next third in Bengal, there are 2nd Grade Magistrates, Joint Magistrates, and Joint Magistrates of the second Grade, as well as several special appointments. Consequently, looking at their place on the list, Joint Magistrates of the first grade in the North-Western Provinces, should some of them draw Rs. 900, and some of them, Rs. 1,500, to be on a par with Bengal, and hence, Rs. 1,100 all round is not an unfair salary.

To proceed with our comparison, the first  $\frac{1}{12}$ ths, or 33 names in the North-Western Provinces, would gain Rs. 915, and lose Rs. 750 as regards leave-holders. Workers would neither lose nor gain. Their position would be precisely the same under our proposal. The new scheme is so far unobjectionable in either case.

In the remainder for facility of inspection, let us arrange the effects of the scheme according as the service is now constituted, and as we would re-constitute it in parallel columns.

SERVICE AS CONSTITUTED.					SERVICE AS PROPOSED.				
On Leave.			Workers.		On Leave.		Workers.		
	Gain.	Loss.	Gain.	Loss.	Gain.	Loss.	Gain.	Loss.	
From 1 to 33, or first $\frac{1}{12}$ ths	915	750	.....	.....	915	750	.....	.....	
From 34 to 66, or 2nd $\frac{1}{12}$ ths	2,866	250	.....	.....	2,616	500	100	3,500	
From 66 to 100, or 3rd $\frac{1}{12}$ ths	1,579	598	900	3,300	2645	166	1,300	2,750	
From 100 to 133, or 4th $\frac{1}{12}$ ths	0	982	0	2740	0	498	1,160	140	
From 133 to 200, or last $\frac{1}{12}$ ths	0	632	0	300	0	632	1,460	600	
Total	5,360	3,212	900	6,840	6,176	2,546	4,020	6,990	

Bearing in mind what we said in the case of Bengal as to the incidence of gain and loss to the seniors and juniors, and that a gain to the seniors was no equivalent to a corresponding loss to the juniors, especially bearing in mind the very slow promotions which will await the juniors about the years 1863 to 1865, no less in the North-Western Provinces than in Bengal, it is obvious that the new scheme to a service re-constituted as we propose, would be completely fair to all portions of it; whereas to introduce the new scheme into the present service would be an almost intolerable hardship to the very men, who are most deserving of the sympathy

and protection of Government. We have said little about altering the deputation-allowance as in Bengal, because this is of small consequence in the North-Western Provinces. If it is necessary to have one uniform rule for both services, it should be done; it will be found that it will be a decided boon to the juniors, and, unlike Bengal, will cost Government considerably more than the Committee's rule. The reason for this is, that a Magistrate in the North-Western Provinces gets full Judge's allowance when acting for a Judge, and seldom acts for a Commissioner, hence these officers gain nothing by the new deputation-allowance rules. The 20 per cent. on more than Rs. 2,000, in fact, produces nil. Consequently, were the rate altered to  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd up to Rs. 2,000, and nothing beyond, the Government would bear all the increase against which there would not be, as in Bengal, any corresponding decrease.

Our conclusion therefore is, that while the new rules will be a decided boon to the Lower Provinces service as a whole, and even no loss to the most unfortunately situated members of it, they will be very unfavourable to the North-Western Provinces service, especially to junior members of it, unless the substantive appointments are re-constituted somewhat as we suggest. They may then be safely accepted by all.

We have had no opportunity of examining the lists for the Punjab and Oude, or for the sister Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The great disparity of the effects on Bengal and on the North Western Provinces, confirms what a little reflection also indicates, that in the case of services differently constituted, it is very dangerous to assume that any one can be taken as a fair specimen of all. To a service constituted in grades, the lower grade drawing no deputation-allowance for officiating in the higher grades, the rules would be very unfavourable. On the contrary, were a service of, say, 80 members from Judges to Joint Magistrates, besides of course a few higher appointments and special appointments, and an adequate staff of Assistants constituted thus: 20 Judges, each Rs. 2,500; 20 Magistrates, each Rs. 1,800; 20 Assistant Judges, each Rs. 1,200; 20 Joint Magistrates, each Rs. 800, the effect of the new rules would be most favourable. It is also no doubt true, that the very lists we have selected are not necessarily fair specimens of the effects of the rules on the average condition of the services which they represent, but we are satisfied that they are sufficiently so to enable the general result to be safely accepted as long as the salaries of the different grades, and the number in each grade, are not materially altered.



It remains to say a few words as what we may call the *uncertain* effects of the rules, that is, those which cannot be absolutely calculated and applied to a specimen list, as we have done with the certain effects.

The possible effects may be enumerated as follows :—

(1.) Acting appointments will be more frequent, and acting promotion accelerated owing to more persons taking leave.

(2.) Persons will be induced to stay in the service longer by the advantages of these rules, and hence promotion be retarded.

(3.) Even when they do retire they will take one or more year's furlough to finish off with, instead of going at once, and thereby entail on the whole service below them, the disadvantage of acting as compared with substantive appointments.

The first is calculated to enhance, the last two to diminish the advantages of the new rules.

Before dealing with the first of these possibilities, it is necessary to say a few words on the subject of one of the rules, which is justly open to great criticism, and which is so indefensible that we should have devoted an earlier and more prominent consideration to it, did we not deem it certain that it will be abandoned. It is that which limits the number of furloughs to 10 per cent. of the service. *Ostensibly* this is merely adhering to the existing rule, really it is introducing a most harassing and injurious limit, which is considerably less than the present one.

Let us compare the two : At present furlough-holders consist of all persons who take long leave without being able to obtain a medical certificate, and their absence includes 3 years of such leave, a fourth year being impossible now even if the candidate reside 35 years in the country.

For the future furlough-holders will consist of three classes :—

A. All those who would take furlough under the existing rules, and even this class will be obviously larger, since men who never take a furlough now will be induced to do so under the new and more favourable rules.

B. It will contain all those who fall ill, but whose standing is such as to entitle them to a furlough under the new rules. Formerly such persons would have taken medical leave in consequence of the greater advantage which it presents ; now they will have little or no object in obtaining a medical certificate, and will not do so.

C. All those over 16 years' standing who have never taken or could take medical leave, and who, therefore, would have

been unable to take any more furlough under the old rules, will now be able to take furlough again.

Under the new rules the old limit of 10 per cent. would scarcely suffice for class A. even, so much more advantageous will the rules be to furlough-takers, but is it reasonable to suppose that that limit can be sufficient when to this increased class A. are to be added the totally new classes B. and C. ? or is it equitable to insist that they shall all be restrained within it, when it is now the limit to one of the three classes only ? The absurdity and injustice of such a rule are so glaring that it evidently cannot be retained ; it would entirely neutralise all the advantages which we have dwelt upon above, and make the new scheme most ruinous by diminishing the rate of acting promotion, which is the sole compensating feature to the junior working Civilians. As far as they are allowed by the Government to have any voice at all, we would recommend every one to stand out for a modification of this rule as a *sine quâ non* to their voluntary acceptance of the scheme.

The alteration required is so obvious that it can hardly be necessary for us to spend much time upon it. Clearly, the distinction between furlough and medical leave having been done away with, the limit should be one which applies to both these leaves combined, the necessity of this is especially obvious, when it is considered that many furloughs, ostensibly on private affairs (as the Committee call them), will be really medical furloughs taken on account of ill health, but not before some period of regular furlough is due. Obviously, therefore, a limit of 20 per cent. should be allowed for medical and private affairs furloughs combined. Medical furloughs must of course be given at once and at any time, but no private affairs furlough should be permitted, unless the total number absent did not exceed 20 per cent. of the total strength of the service. Or, it would be much more convenient to let the local administrations give leave up to a maximum of 20 per cent. of the local service. The reason for fixing 20 per cent. is also obvious. The intention of the limit is not to take away with the left hand what is conceded with the right, to say, "you may have 3 years' furlough each as individuals, but "you can only have 2 years each all round, hence you must "have a scramble to see who can get 3 years, and who will have "to be content with only one." The object is merely to prevent an inconvenient rush at any one time, followed by a rush back at another. Now, the new, rules avowedly give a person

one year's leave in England for every four he serves in India, that is, one year in five as furlough of one or the other description. Consequently, to take out this, one member in five, or 20 per cent., must be absent on the average. To fix a limit of less than 20 per cent. would be to say, "in so many years, you may have one year in five *if you can get it*, but if you do get it "some one else will have to be contented with less than his "share, so fight it out between you and see who shall get less, and "who more." A fight we may add the issue of which the Committee settled by a rule which has the merit of simplicity, but hardly, we think, of equity.

Besides the above concession, our calculations assume that the length of service and residence remains unaltered. At present 21 years' service, one year's medical, and three years' furlough or medical leave, raising the total to 25 years' service, enables a man to retire. If, however, he can get no medical leave he has to reside 22 years and take three years' furlough. The Committee proposed to make the rule equal to all, *viz.*, 21 years' residence and 4 years' furlough, medical or ordinary, to entitle to pension. The Secretary of State, however, though the Government of India is said to have supported the proposal, somewhat unnecessarily and ungraciously, as it seems to us, refused it. We presume, therefore, that the old rule will be retained and that 4 years' furlough, provided at least one year is medical furlough, and 21 years' active service, will qualify for pension; or 3 years' ordinary furlough, and 22 years' residence.

We proceed then on the two assumptions:—firstly, that the furloughs will not be restricted to 10 per cent.; secondly, that the term of service qualifying for pension will remain as at present, to estimate as approximately as can be the gain from the first, and the loss from the other two causes which we stated above.

1st.—Will acting promotion be accelerated? To estimate this we must consider separately the case of members, who intend to retire and do retire as quickly as they can, and the case of those who intentionally overstay their 25 years.

We must also consider separately the officers who would take, (including of course those who have taken) their full furlough under the existing rules; those who can obtain a medical certificate for the full period allowed with retention of appointment, *viz.*, 2½ years, and lastly those who will not take furlough under the present disastrous rules, and cannot obtain sick leave; call them classes *a*, *b*, *c*. In regard to class *a* of those Civilians who retire as soon as they can, the new

rules cannot give any more vacancies than the old, they will only leave acting instead of permanent vacancies, the effect of which we have already so fully considered. If they can get a medical certificate for as much as one year, they will, under the existing or the modified rules, be absent as much as, and no more than, 4 years, out of the 25, and thus leave vacancies to precisely the same extent as hitherto during their service. This class, we should think, is the largest, and embraces  $\frac{2}{3}$  of all those who retire as soon as they can. Class *b* will not consent to undergo the sacrifice of a present furlough, but will take all the medical leave they can get with retention of appointment. Under present rules their service must consist of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  years' residence, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years' medical leave; under the new rules, it will be 21 years' residence and 4 years' leave, such persons will evidently give  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years' acting promotion more than before. The last and smallest class are those who will not take the present furlough, and cannot get a medical certificate. Such men would have to reside 25 years at present, but only to reside 22 years, and be absent 3, under the new rules. In the cases of such persons, acting appointments will be obviously increased, but we imagine that the cases are not numerous.

Next let us take the case of those who do not take their pensions as soon as they are qualified, but stay on from 26 to 35 years, and divide them into the same classes as before. Those who will take furlough and can take, and *a fortiori* will take leave under medical certificate as long as it enables them to retain their appointment, could take as much as  $5\frac{1}{2}$  years' leave. Under the new rules, they would take a sixth year after 29 years' service, *viz.*, 24 years' residence and 5 years' leave. It is evident, therefore, that the gain would be quite insignificant in this case; in fact in a few cases, there might be a loss, since occasionally a man stays more than 3 years at home out of employ on a medical certificate or private affairs; such a person could still, under the present rules, obtain his full three years' furlough; whereas under the new rules he would only obtain the balance to make up a total of six years. These cases, however, are not numerous, and on the whole, we should say that class *a* for persons overstaying as for persons not overstaying 25 years, would be unproductive of accelerated acting promotion.

Class *b* would not undergo the sacrifice of forfeiting their appointments by taking furlough or more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years' medical leave. They can only, therefore, be absent  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years, whether they stay 26 or 35 years; under the new rules they

would be able to be absent at least 5 years, and as much as 6, if they stayed up to 30 years. There would be a great increase consequently in their case. This of course would be still greater in class *c*, who being unwilling to take furlough and unable to get medical leave, must reside as long as they serve under the present rules, but may take 5 or 6 years under the new.

It is impossible to attempt more than a very rough estimate of the proportionate extent of this acceleration of promotion.

Of 100 retirements, perhaps about 60 take place as soon as the incumbent is qualified, and 40 at some later period.

Of the first, class *a* might contain about 40, class *b* 14, class *c* 4. Of the second body, class *a* would contain about 26, class *b* 8, and class *c* 3. The surplus in each instance is to meet the case of those who would take no leave under either the old or the new rules. The leave taken by I *a* during their service would amount to  $40 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  years (*i. e.*, 3 or 4 according as they get medical certificate or not,) = 140 years, either under the old or new rules: the leave taken by I *b* will be similarly 35 years and 56 years under the old and new rules, by I *c*, it will be 0 and 12.

The leave taken by II *a* will be  $26 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  = 143 years in either case; class II *b* will give  $8 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  = 20 or  $8 \times 5$  = 40; and II *c*, will give 0 for the former, and 15 for the latter.

The aggregate shows the proportion of 338 years absenteeism under the old, to 406 under the new rules or that acting promotion will be, on the whole, accelerated to the extent of about 20 per cent by the new rules. If the 150th man on the list has 30 persons above him absent on furlough or medical leave under the existing rules, he should by this calculation have 36 absent on furlough of some kind or other under the new rules. At the same time the figures we have assumed are so arbitrary that we claim little correctness for the calculation. The immediate effect will no doubt be very much greater owing to the number of persons who will at once become entitled to leave, and who will evidently swell the number of absentees up to the maximum limit allowed by the rules.

Next will the new rules induce officers to stay on longer than hitherto before retiring? We reserve for consideration afterwards the question whether they will finish off with all the furlough due instead of retiring at once, we are now enquiring whether they will be induced to stay on any longer *in the country*. There is one very rare case in which this may happen, that of a man who would retire as soon as he was

qualified, but who never obtained medical furlough. After 16 years' residence such a man would be entitled to one or more years furlough, according as he had previously taken three or less than three years' furlough. The wish to retire as soon as possible would not be strong enough to dissuade him from availing himself of this furlough, and after his return when he had completed 20 years' residence, and 24 years' service, he would still need 2 years' residence, and have a fifth years' furlough due. He might take this year, and thus be compelled to complete 27 years' service but he must at any rate complete 26 years' service, whereas under the existing rules he would go at 25, having been precluded from taking more than 3 years' furlough. The service, therefore, would only gain the extra one or two years acting vacancies, in place of the permanent vacancies they would gain had he retired earlier. It will be seen, however, that the loss arising from this can be fairly comprehended in that arising from the next question, so we may at present confine ourselves to the consideration whether, supposing a man equally qualified to retire under the old and new rules, there will be any thing in the new rules to induce him to *remain in the country*. On the whole, we think not. It must be remembered that a Civilian, at the end of 25 years' service, is nearly always drawing from £3,000 to £5,000 a year. On retiring, his allowances fall at once to between £800 and £900. It requires a very strong attraction to induce a man to sacrifice £2,000 to £4,000 a year. The attraction may be ill health, family considerations, longing for English life, dislike of India or weariness of work, it may be one or more of these combined, but whatever it be, the point is, that it must be strong enough to induce a man to give up a couple of thousand pounds a year.

This attraction will be the same then as now, what additional counter-attraction will the new rules offer, which combined with the £2,000 will do what the £2,000 alone will not do? What man whose home yearnings or family reasons are satisfied by one year in five, would be likely under the present rules, to resign? It is quite as likely that they will have the opposite effect, that the more favourable terms of furlough will induce men to go home who never go home now, and revive in them old associations, and a desire for their fatherland which was dying out owing to prolonged absence, and would have induced them to stay out their full period otherwise. As a fact it is generally seen that those who go home from time to time are the readiest to retire, while those who are the least at home are

the readiest to retire, while those who are the least at home are the latest to go. We do not think, then, that there is any ground for apprehension that the new rules will induce men to remain in India longer than under the present rules, but they will certainly have one effect; every one will retire *after a furlough* instead of retiring at once. A man who has resided 21 or 22 years will, under the new rules, be entitled to five years' furlough, therefore every one who has resided the full time out of only 25 years' service, will be entitled to one or two years' furlough on £1,200 a year, according as he has had a year or more of his leave on medical furlough or not. As his pension and annuity will only, according to existing pension rules, reach about £825 a year, he will of course take the furlough and then retire without returning to India. This will inflict on the service for that period of one or two years, the full loss of the difference between an acting and permanent vacancy, and this includes the case of a man taking 4 or 5 years before completing his 25 to which we were referring just above, since it comes to the same thing in the long run whether a man takes 4 years out of 26, or 5 out of 27, and then retires, or whether he takes 3 or 4 out of 25, and then finishes off with 2 years or 1 as the case may be.

It seems, therefore, that in the case of every man who retires as soon as he can, which we estimated just now at 60 per cent. of the retirements, that he will always subject the service for one year or two years longer than at present to the loss of the acting in lieu of permanent salaries accruing from his vacancy.

But this loss is greatly mitigated by the consideration, that this is almost always done now under a medical certificate, by all who have the opportunity of doing so. Now a person must either reach the term of his necessary service without having exhausted his medical leave or not. If he had also taken his furlough under the old rules, in all  $2\frac{1}{2} + 3$  years' leave he would not be able to retire under the existing rules till  $\frac{1}{2}$  year after he would have completed his necessary 21 years *plus* the concluding furlough under the new rules. If he had not taken furlough he could, it is true, get away immediately he completed 25 years' service, but as he would in that case have had at least one year's medical leave, he would only have one year's furlough under the new rules due, so that the loss, even in this exceptional case, would be reduced to a minimum. If, however, he had not exhausted his medical leave under the old rules, he could take it now, and he

would be almost as certain to get it under the circumstances, as he would be to take the furlough under the new rules.

Still there will obviously be some loss to the service on this account, though not so much as might appear, and it would, therefore, be a great improvement if the furlough rules were so far modified as to declare, that in the event of a person taking furlough after he was eligible to retire, he would be bound to return to duty, and that if he did not do so, he would be regarded as having retired from the service, and his appointment be treated as having been vacated from the day he left India. His emoluments, and those of the officers who would have succeeded to the consequent vacancies at that time, could be very easily adjusted accordingly. Nor would there be in this anything in the least harsh or contrary to principle. Furlough is intended to recruit a man's health and energies in Europe or in a congenial climate, as privilege leave is intended to give him rest in India. Privilege leave cannot be taken in advance of other leave, because such a union would be a breach of the intention with which it is given. So, in the same way it is a breach of the intention of a furlough, that it should, without any return to duty, precede a retirement. As the Secretary of State insists on this in the case of privilege leave when the amalgamation would be to the benefit of the service, do not let it be repudiated by him in the case of furlough, when, in spite of the individual gaining somewhat, the service, as a whole, will lose greatly. (a)

We conclude our review of the rules for long leave by again summing up the conclusions we advocate.

1. The ten per cent. limit must be altered, and a more liberal limit allowed; this we regard as a *sine qua non*, unless Government is going to force the rules on the whole service against their will.

2. If this is granted, we then consider that the rules will, on the whole, be tolerable for Bengal. Very good for the seniors, a slight gain to all whose promotion is up the average,

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(a) There was a rumour a few days ago in Calcutta that in the new Committee at Simla, the member appointed to protect the interests of the juniors had urged this point as the other members, but that he had been over-ruled. We can hardly believe that those who, by their position in the service at the time the rules are introduced, will be recipients of all the advantages, and none of the drawbacks of the changes proposed, can take advantage of their position to increase their *gratuitous* gains at the expense of the whole future service, as well as of all the lower portion of the existing service, to whom the benefit of the rules is so very problematical.



and, on the whole, about an equivalent to those whose promotion will obviously be so unusually and, we believe, unprecedentedly slow.

3. If the proposal to allow acting incumbents to take leave on their acting appointments when they have been in them one year is allowed, as it should be, it will improve the rules still more, and we think that juniors need then have no fear of the consequences.

4. The blot would still remain that the Committee's proposal for deputation-allowances makes a bad use of the compensation, which should go to relieve those who suffer by the proposed alteration, by giving away a large proportion of it to those who suffer no loss but gain considerably, *viz.*, 'the upper 80,' while only the residuum goes where it is wanted. This can be remedied at approximately the same cost to Government, by leaving existing deputation-allowance rules to all whose substantive salaries reach Rs. 1,916 a month, and to give  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd deputation-allowance up to Rs. 2,000, and nothing on the surplus to all whose substantive salaries are less than Rs. 1,916 a month. It would be better still if the  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd up to Rs. 2,000, and nothing on the surplus rule were made uniform for the whole service, but we did not propose this as it would involve an additional charge of Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 3,000 per mensem on the State funds.

5. The accelerated promotion from acting vacancies would not be so great as is generally anticipated after the first rush is over, and the retardation from persons taking furlough to complete their service before retiring, would not be so great as is apprehended. The one may probably be fairly treated as a set off against the other, but the Government ought to prohibit such furloughs in the manner proposed on the same principle as the prohibition regarding privilege leave.

On the whole, we recommend the Bengal service to accept the rules if the 10 per cent. limit is abandoned, and a fair limit substituted for it.

6. For the North-West service, as at present constituted, the rules are not good. They will not, in all probability, be quite so bad as their application to the latest list shows, as the furloughs were so numerous and the medical leaves at the upper end of the service so few; but still undoubtedly bad for all, except the present seniors, and terribly bad for all who came out at an unlucky period for promotion.

7. The conversion of the 2nd Grade Joint Magistrates into 1st Class Assistants, as in Bengal, will do something to mitigate

the loss from the new rules, and the proposal to allow leave on acting allowances would also operate in the same direction. The alteration of the deputation-allowance rule into the same we advocated for Bengal, would very slightly ameliorate their position.

8. None of these alterations can, however, make the new rules otherwise than a loss, constituted as the North-Western Provinces' service is, with so small an interval of pay between the Judge and the Magistrate, and so large a gap between that of a Magistrate and Joint Magistrate. A re-casting of the substantive allowances of certain appointments simultaneously with the introduction, would, as far as salaries are concerned, be an immense boon to the service, and vested interests might be easily protected.

9. For both services the rules are better than they look, as they will affect *existing* members. For, the gains will come into full effect at once while the losses will only gradually reach their maximum, as the present furlough-holders are absorbed. This, however, depends partly on the local administrations acting on the suggestion to bestow vacancies alternately on the next on the list of a lower grade, and on the first claimant among those who have returned from furlough. Otherwise the first 3 or 4 in each grade will be heavy losers.

A word or two on the short leave rules, and we have finished. The Secretary of State refuses the Committee's proposal to amalgamate privilege leave with private affairs leave, and also withdraws the privilege hitherto given of accumulating 3 months' privilege leave, limiting it to two months, and also indicating that he would prefer to give six weeks in every year, and to prohibit accumulations altogether. As regards the first we can only say, carry out the principle by prohibiting furlough from being united with retirements, and we are content. As regards the second we can only say that it obviously comes from one who has drawn his ideas from England and not from India. It is true that Sir Charles Trevelyan shared the opinion, but Sir Charles Trevelyan's opinion in such matters were so notoriously eccentric, that this forms an argument against rather than for the alteration. We have no doubt that 90 out every 100 persons in India are agreed, that the alteration is a mistake both as regards the interests of Government and of the service, but especially as regards the Government. Men can do nothing with a month's or six weeks' leave, while the inconvenience of finding substitutes will be immense.

However, it is not for the service to reject the boon of an additional fortnight's leave on full pay. If it falls in with a theory of the Secretary of State, let it be taken without demur, it will increase acting appointments, and be good for the juniors. If the efficiency of the public service suffers owing to frequent temporary changes, the service has washed its hands of all complicity in the result.

In conclusion, we can assure our readers that we have been guided to our conclusions solely by the arguments and statistics which support them, and in no degree by our sympathies or interests. We have worked out the statistics first, and then proposed our remedies for the results which they give, and not prepared the theories first, and then worked out the statistics to fall in with them. Were our suggestions adopted they would cost the Government about Rs. 5,000 per mensem between the Bengal and North-Western Provinces' services, but we can only assert most positively that if this is conceded in full, it will represent but a tithe of the reparation which is due for the injury to their prospects, which the necessities and policy of the Government, during the last eight years, have inflicted on junior members, and particularly the very junior members of the present service: just necessities and a wise policy perhaps, but the loss resulting from this wisdom and justice falls upon those who least of all benefit from them, and who having bound themselves hand and foot, and committed their welfare absolutely and unreservedly to the Government, are tenfold entitled to claim its protection and its consideration.

## SHORT NOTICES.

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### *The Dattika Siromani.*

THIS is a collection in Sanskrit of the principal treatises on the Law of Adoption as it prevails among Hindoos. It is edited by Professor Bhárat Chunder Siromani Bhattachárjea of the Sanscrit College, Calcutta, a gentleman who is particularly well qualified for such a duty; and it is dedicated to a well known and universally respected Jurist, the Hon'ble Prosonno Coomar Tagore, C. S. I., under whose auspices the collection was made, and at whose expense it has been published.

The collection consists of the eight following treatises :—

1. Dattika Mimansa.
2. Dattika Chandrika.
3. Dattika Nirnaya.
4. Dattika Dedhiti.
5. Dattika Kaumudi.
6. Dattika Durpan.
7. Dattika Sidhánta Munjuri.
8. Dattika Tilaka.

The two first, the Dattika Mimansa by Nanda Pandita, and the more concise treatise by Devanda-Bhattá, are well known works on the Law of Adoption, and are spoken of by all the English writers on Hindoo Law as being treatises of great and almost paramount authority on this subject. There is but little difference of opinion amongst Hindoo writers on the Law of Adoption, nor has any one school adopted a particular set of dogmas on this subject; but when a difference of opinion does arise, or a doubtful case occur, "the doctrines of the Dattika Chandriká are adhered to by the Bengal and Southern jurists; while the Dattika Mimansa is held to be "the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithilá and Benares."

The Dattika Nirnaya and the Dattika Dedhiti are mentioned by Sir F. Macnaghten in his "Considerations on the Hindoo Law;" the former in his preface as a "compilation of Shri Natha Bhatta, a celebrated Pundit;" The other he

mentions in the opinion of a pundit given by him in his Appendix to the same work.

The Dattika Kaumudi is spoken of by Sir William Macnaghten in his "Principles and Precedents of Hindoo Law" in his second volume among his precedents.

The Dattika Durpana and Dattika Sidhānta Munjari are modern digests of the Law of Adoption, and do not carry with them the prestige and authority attributed to the ancient treatises, which contain the rules which have regulated the habits and customs of many generations of Hindoos.

The Dattika Tilaka now remains. It professes to be an ancient treatise on the Law of Adoption by Bhavadeva, who is undoubtedly one of the oldest writers on Hindu Law. Colebrooke in the preface to his "Digest of Hindoo Law," speaks of him in the following terms:—"Bhavadeva Bhatta, also called Balabalabh Bhunjanga, was the author of several treatises on religious duties. These, with the rituals of the same author, are much consulted in Bengal, and in the southern provinces of India." Of Bhavadeva's existence there can be no doubt, but whether he ever wrote the Dattika Tilaka is a very different question. Of its being by Bhavadeva, or even of its very existence till lately, there is no external evidence whatever. It is not mentioned in any classification of Hindu Law-books made by English writers, nor is it directly quoted by any Hindu work or author; and it is the only treatise which affects to treat of simultaneous adoption. In all human probability it can never be settled whether or not it was actually written by any particular author.

But there is another question which may, and ought to be settled at once and authoritatively; and that is, whether it is at least ancient. The history of the manuscript should be given, and the manuscript might be submitted to the investigation of the learned. From this history, from the texture of the substance on which it is written, from a comparison with other admittedly ancient manuscripts, from internal evidence, this point might be easily decided; and until this be done, we must regard it as purely apocryphal and of no authority whatever.

A short but learned treatise on the authenticity of this work has been published in "Remarks by a Barrister." The authority of these "Remarks" would have been greatly increased if the learned author had prefixed his name; but as he has chosen to veil them under an *incognito*, we are bound not to violate it, though we regret that he has concealed a well-known and respected name.

In conclusion, we would congratulate the Hon'ble Prosunno Coomarr Tagore on the publication of this book under his auspices, and by his aid and assistance. There is no more pleasing sight than that of one who, after a well-spent and active life, devotes an honorable old age to the encouragement of learning, and lends a helping hand to those who are younger and less successful than himself.

\*Since writing the above, we have learned that, from discoveries made at Benares, there is every reason to hope that evidence will be shortly forthcoming, proving, beyond doubt, that the Dattika Tilaka is the work of Bhavadeva. It will give us great pleasure to see the theory of the learned patron of the work confirmed and established.

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2. *Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association*  
Vol. II. Part I., W. Newman and Company, Calcutta, 1868.

AN Association like the one whose "Transactions" are here recorded, marks an era in the history of social progress in Bengal. It shows that the men on whom the future of the country depends, are coming within the sphere of those higher influences for which the educational advantages they have received have but paved the way. Nothing could be more to the point, or better calculated to quicken honest thought among our enlightened Zemindars, than the President's address. Taking for his theme, "Economy and Trade," he has laid bare some of the evils that underlie the social degradation around us, and stifle all enterprise. We greatly admire the spirit in which the subject has been handled. No time is wasted in empty compliments; no word is said to wound healthy sensibilities; but there is an honest, manly out-speaking in every sentence, and especially in the concluding portion of the address, which can not fail to commend itself to all lovers of truth. Mr. Justice Phear's duties as a Judge of the High Court have made him acquainted with phases of native society, which clearly indicate the blind conservatism prevalent among the people; and he plainly sees that this conservatism gaining strength, as does all conservatism when the outside pressure of an advancing civilization is wanting, is the dead-weight under which the energies of the masses are crushed. We have railways, steamers, and telegraph wires to aid in "the development of the resources" of the country; but these influences can scarcely be said to

have reached the heart of native society. There are whole districts in Bengal where, for want of facilities in the shape of roads and navigable khals, the people are not only cut off from communication with the high-ways of traffic, but are debarred that intercourse village with village, and market with market which would, at least in some degree, relieve their existing isolation. The British Indian Association ever quick to discern the short-comings of the Government, and ready to counsel, costly measures of improvement so long as the class they represent are required to make no sacrifice, ought to ponder over Mr. Phear's bold exposure of the state of society among the enlightened natives of the country; and to consider whether they would not do better to quicken a little healthy activity among their brethren, the Zemindars. Why do Zemindars make no effort to improve the condition of their ryots? Why do they not come between them and the mahajun? Why do they not, out of their superfluous riches, help their ryots out of their hereditary indebtedness, construct roads, do something to make the villages on their estates smell sweet and wholesome, and by earnest, patient efforts for their welfare, satisfy the ryots that they are no longer regarded as rent-paying animals or rice-growing machines, but as men, strong to do more than their fathers ever dreamt of? One serious difficulty in the way of any general effort in this direction, however, has been pointed out by Mr. Phear. He says—

“Let us suppose for a moment the case of a landed property belonging to A, B, C, D, and E, in undivided shares; A, and B, say, being brothers owning two annas each; C, a cousin, owning one anna and a half; D, a widow of another cousin, having a Hindoo widow's life-interest in two and a half; and E, a stranger, who has purchased at an auction-sale, some other member of the family's eight annas' share. This illustration, in which of course, the figures are assumed arbitrarily, you will, I think, admit, is typical of the condition of a large portion of the landed property of this Presidency. Now, each one of these co-sharers has the power to enhance the rent of the land separately by a suit, the result of which will not be binding between the tenants and the other co-sharers: and in practice it constantly happens that the unfortunate cultivators are in this way grievously harassed and exhausted. In fact, each undivided shareholder of this kind, as a rule, collects his own aliquot part of the rent from every ryot, and considers himself as a sole proprietor, unconnected with the other sharers. It is obvious that all thought of the land, and any duty towards it, must be foreign to him. Of course, he does not of himself put capital into the land, and how small is the chance that all the sharers will unite for that purpose! In truth, it is impossible that the functions of a land-lord should be discharged by a co-partnership of this nature; and as soon as it should be ascertained that the state of things,

illustrated by this example, is likely, by reason of the habits and customs of the proprietary classes, to remain the rule, and not constitute the exception, would it not then become a grave question whether the public good would not require the interference of the supreme power of the community in some such way as that which I have indicated ?”

How is this difficulty to be got over ? It is a question worthy the attention of the B. I. Association. We are convinced, too, that the Benamee system, on which there is a paper in these transactions, is another great obstacle in the way of the duties which land-lords owe to their tenants. Where it prevails, the real owner is interested in nothing beyond his rents ; and he would soon find that every improvement on his estate was but an additional temptation to a Benameedar to appropriate the land to himself.

The paper on Mahomedan Education in Bengal is a review of the history of the Calcutta Madfissah. To us, the discussion that followed the reading of it, is more interesting than the paper itself. We cannot help feeling that Peary Chand Mittra touched a weak point in the social order of the Mahomedan community, when he asked “whether any steps were being taken for the education of Mahomedan women.” The Mahomedan gentlemen present seem to have winced under the question, if we may judge from the manner in which it was met ; the very barriers of a religious injunction being brought to stop the way of any attempt to reach Mahomedan women. This convinces us that in spite of the asseverations of Moulvi Abdool Hakeem, who had a good deal to say concerning the female enlightenment of *ancient* times, the Mahomedan woman is intellectually no better provided for than her Hindoo sister. Indeed, we have a suspicion that she is even more neglected ; and that from a purely political point of view, it is of importance to bring her within the reach of educational influences. The ignorance of a Hindoo mother serves to transmit to her offspring the traditional bondage of idolatrous superstitions : an ignorant Mahomedan mother transmits the fanatical bigotry characteristic of her people. We should very much like to see the Social Science Association inquire into the subject of Mahomedan Female Education.

We are prevented by want of space from noticing the papers on Jurisprudence and Law, Hindu Female Education, Health, Economy and Trade, and the Festivals of the Hindus. A very interesting paper on Female Occupations in Bengal, gives an account of the domestic life and manners of Hindu women.



The sketch of "the Zemindar's lady" in the *Mofussil*, is a far more favourable one than that of the city wife. We hope the following description of city life is overdrawn :

" Many of the wives of the rich are exceedingly haughty and ill-tempered, the natural effect of the training which they undergo ; so that their lives present one unbroken page of discord and strife, agitating all within the range of their authority or influence. The mornings, as I have said, are devoted to ablutions, followed by Poojahs, both lazily conducted. Then the fast is broken by a heavy dish of dainties, composed of fruits, curds, and sweetmeats plentifully piled up. The interval between this preliminary breakfast and the formal dinner is not very long. It is passed, however, in a recumbent posture, with a solace of betel-nuts, and an ample allowance of tobacco. The dinner is elaborately set out with fish and ghee and milk, measured by the seer. It is supplemented again by sweetmeats and confectionery. When the gorging is complete, the fair *gourmand* betakes herself to bed, and it is not till close upon evening that she finishes her *siesta*. The toilet now commences, but the entire details of the mysterious art are in the hands of the attendant maids. Their mistress gives them little help ; she is completely at rest. But whatever rest other portions of the body may enjoy, the teeth certainly cannot be charged with inactivity ; for when they are not masticating food, or hissing abuse, they are chewing the eternal pan-leaf and nut. Before the evening meal demands attention, a few spare hours are available. These are passed with the help of cards and gossip in which friends, foes, relatives, neighbours, and servants thump and bump against every point of the scandal compass. The hot work is interrupted only by a call to tiffin in which sweetmeats and milk abound as usual. The whole is concluded by a very substantial feast at night, redolent of nightmare and dyspepsia. The monotony of this sort of life is occasionally broken by an excursion to Kalighat or a jaunt to Tarukasur. There is absolutely no leisure for any thing else, for books, elevated thought, art, or refinement."

Mr. Long brings up the rear with a string of Bengali Proverbs. These are useful as illustrating the social condition and opinions of the lower and middle classes of the people. We regret, however, that Mr. Long did not give the Bengali of the Proverbs, in addition to his English translations. Every translation implies a diluting process, which, in the case of pithy things like proverbs, amounts, unless most carefully effected, to an utter extinction of the life and force of the original. Some of the translations before us must be simply unintelligible to the English reader. Others, again, need to be explained before their point becomes discernible. What, for example, is the meaning of the following :

" In my mind I am a Sikh ;

" Yet I carry a brick under my arm."

A little more care in the explanation of allusions would greatly enhance the value of Mr. Long's collection.

3. *The Annals of Rural Bengal. Vol. I. The Ethnical Frontier of Lower Bengal with the Ancient Principalities of Beerbhoom and Bistunpore.* By W. W. Hunter, B. A., M.B. A.S., of the Bengal Civil Service. London : Smith, Elder, and Co., 1868.

"I HAVE no doubt," says James Mill, "of being able to make out, to the satisfaction of all reflecting minds, that the man who should bring to the composition of a History of India, the qualifications alone which can be acquired in Europe, would come, in an almost infinite degree, better fitted for the task, than the man who should bring to it the qualifications alone which can be acquired in India; and that the business of acquiring the one set of qualifications is almost wholly incompatible with that of acquiring the other." Mr. Hunter's book is a triumphant practical refutation of the theory so broadly laid down. If, indeed, history is to be a mere record of conquest, or a barren chronicle of administrative change, it may be true that he who stands afar off can best estimate the general results as they appear to mankind at large. But if the experience of a past time is to teach the men of this,—to be to them a rich store-house on which they may draw for the practical wants of to-day, then we say, the writer who to painstaking research, adds the intimate local knowledge, the power of generalization, rashly though it may be sometimes exercised, and the graphic style displayed in the volume before us, has done that for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful.

It is a sign full of promise for India, that the ranks of her Junior Civil Service have already produced so many men who, while not inferior to their predecessors in sympathy for the people, are able to discuss the vital questions of the day with a breadth of view and charm of style, which will do more to make them understood at home than reams of official reports bristling with figures and horrid with facts.

It is now some years since the attention of Government and the public was drawn to the subject of the conservation and investigation of the older Bengal Records. A Commission was appointed with an Honourable Judge at its head, a well paid Secretary, and duly qualified members. The result of their labours has not been made public. True, we have had a series of more or less amusing extracts from ancient *Calcutta Gazettes*, and we hear that a separation of the papers relating to North-West affairs from those of Lower Bengal, has been effected. Promises have also been made of something better yet to come, and the Secretary has doubtless well earned his salary. But

as published results go, Mr. Hunter has stolen a long march upon the Commission, and his present volume, the result mainly of his researches in an old office almirah, while he was an Assistant at Beerbhoom, will serve to stimulate the general impatience to know what the Record-racks have yet to disclose, and create the well-warranted hope that Government will utilise the special aptitude which Mr. Hunter displays for the work in question.

Neither the general title given by Mr Hunter to his book as the first of a proposed series, nor the special designation of this particular volume, give any very correct idea of his subject, or its mode of treatment. Projected originally with the approval of the Bengal Government as a history of Beerbhoom, to be followed, if successful, by similar volumes on the other districts of the Lower Provinces, the work has, as the author's opportunities of enquiry widened, developed into a component part of a more ambitious scheme. The purely local record of the early administration of one particular district, merges insensibly in the internal history of the whole province. And the ethnical peculiarities of a tract bordering on the habitat of an aboriginal race, lead to speculations on the origin and history of caste as found in Bengal, and the mode of fusion of the Aryan and the earlier peoples.

Perhaps, the most interesting chapter in the book is that describing the condition of Rural Bengal when it passed into British hands. In 1765, the Company obtained the Dewani, but it was not till 1772 that they avowedly "stood forth as Dewan," and commenced their direct fiscal administration of the Lower Provinces. At this time the country was but barely delivered from a famine "whose ravages two generations failed to repair." This disaster has now for the first time been placed before us in adequate proportions. The failure of the December crop of 1769, (owing to the early cessation of the rains,) brought first scarcity, then starvation. "All through the stifling summer of 1770, people went on dying. The husbandmen sold their cattle: they sold their implements of agriculture: they devoured their seed grain: they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found: they ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field: and in June 1770, the Resident at the Durbar affirmed that the living were feeding on the dead." One-third of the population of Bengal perished. Years of extraordinary plenty followed, but the diminution of the population was so great that the area of cultivation was enormously diminished, and the relations between landholders and their

ryots were permanently disturbed. It is only one of the many regrettable things in connection with the Permanent Settlement, that it was forced on at a time when the country was still suffering from the effects of this calamity. Mr. Hunter, after showing how modern ideas differ from those then in vogue as to the action which Government ought to take in such a crisis, draws a remarkable analogy between the famine of 1770 and that of 1866, and no less fairly contrasts the mode in which they were respectively dealt with. The isolation which proved the ruin of Orissa in 1866, was the normal condition of every district a century before. But while in 1770, the direct management of the country was in native hands, and the Government was persistently warned of the actual presence of dearth without believing it, the singular absence of definite information in the early months of 1866 is the most striking point in the history of the last famine.\*

The miseries of those who survived the great famine of last century were greatly aggravated by the state of the currency, and the lawless condition of the country. To the former of these subjects Mr. Hunter devotes a most interesting chapter, to which we can but barely allude. Not less valuable or entertaining is his description of the ravages of the banditti who then infested the border Mehals. The hesitating steps by which the Company gradually took up its predestined position in regard to civil and criminal justice, are well portrayed. The Records of Beerbhoom furnish material for a life-like description of the mode in which the commercial operations of the Company in the interior stimulated prosperity and developed civilization. All these chapters are good, and will be new even to those best acquainted with Indian history.

Mr. Hunter's third and fourth chapters are devoted to a discussion of the ethnical elements of the low-land population of Bengal : and an investigation of the language, manners, and history of the aboriginal hill-men of Beerbhoom. In the former chapter, the writer treats of what he imagines to be the elemental and structural defects that have hitherto incapacitated the hybrid multitudes of Bengal from becoming a nation. Over this field we follow him with less confidence, though his suggestions are full of interest, and deserving of a detailed

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\* We say this fearlessly, for the Famine Commission's last *Cassandra*, Mr Barlow, has emphatically declared that he saw nothing between March and May, to lead him to infer that such a calamity was so close ; and indignantly denied that had he seen cause, he would have failed to apply to Government again for aid.

consideration, which we have now no space to attempt. Briefly his theory is this :—The Aryans invaded Lower Bengal, before the four-fold division of caste set forth in Manu had taken place, and when the only distinction existing was that between Brahmuns and the rest of the people. The rigid doctrines of Manu never obtained in Bengal. Hence the success of Buddhism in that country. The only practical division was between the Aryan invaders and the aboriginal tribes. But these acted the one upon the other : the Aryans adopting the worship of Siva, and other types from the Dasyan : the aborigines accepting in adulterated forms many of the conceptions of the Aryans. From the intermixture of the two, assisted by their being ground together, as it were, under the heel of successive conquerors, arose the Bengal of to-day, with its infinity of castes and its variety of religion. An examination of the language of the Sonthal brings Mr. Hunter to the conclusion that as the Indo-Aryans came from the North-West of the Himalayas, so the Indian aborigines came from the North-East, spreading westwards until beaten back before Aryan migrations to the highlands of the Lower Valley.

An interesting series of appendices concludes the volume. It is to be followed, we are told, by a second, on the land-tenures of Bengal, treated, we suppose, historically. For this we shall look with interest. But we trust that Mr. Hunter will for his own sake, not hurry a work demanding, by the nature of it, much careful research and no little experience. His revenue experience must have hitherto been but slight, and a subject to which men like Shore and Holt Mackenzie devoted a life-time of thought and care, will not lose, even when popularly treated, by being approached with respect.

The undoubted success of his present book should make Mr. Hunter chary of doing anything to detract from his reputation.

4. *The World's Martyrs : A Poem.* By C. K.—Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1868.

THE author has a capacity for writing pretty, pleasing poetry, of which the little poem now under review is not the first evidence. Like almost all the young poets of the present day, his taste and style are obviously Tennysonian. We are bound, however, to say that we wish the matter of *form* poem was worthy of the language and verse with which *its* and *thed*.

It consists of a vision in which the World's Martyrs are made to defile before the eyes of one who is lamenting the littleness and baseness of man and his grovelling tastes, as his future posterity defiled before Æneas in the 6th Æneid. It is hardly to be expected that any general agreement should be found on so controverted a subject as that which deals with the question—who are the real Martyrs of mankind? One person naturally turns to Socrates and the philosophers, another to the early Christians, a third to the Huguenots and the victims of the Inquisition, a fourth to the Irish and Polish Catholics, or to those whom Queen Elizabeth delighted to disembowel; but whatever a person's particular views may be, he will hardly fail to admit that Brutus, Regulus, Hannibal, Aristides, Pericles, Socrates, Phocion, Demosthenes, Cornelia, Galileo, Joan-of-Arc, Savonarola, Coreggio, Luther, Tasso, Columbus, Ridley, Latimer, More, Raleigh, Falkland, Milton, Hampden, Montrose, Russell, Chatterton and Marie Antoinette, form about as strange a medley as it is possible to collect together. Were it not for the presence of some names, we should have been tempted to suppose that the author intended, under the title of the World's Martyrs, to point the finger of scorn at those men who sacrificed everything to obtain worldly fame and renown, and learned too late the nature of the gratitude with which the world is wont to repay her devotees.

As we have said, the poetry is pretty and makes us regret all the more that the subject-matter is unequal to it. We quote one of the most pleasing pieces, to enable our readers to judge for themselves :—

“A mountain church-yard, where thro' gloom profound,  
The sad, cold tomb-stones glimmer ghastly-white,  
And the great waves majestically sound  
A requiem, day and night.

“Thither, when faithless swallows leave the North,  
And Earth's dark paths with sweet gold leaves are spread,  
At fall of night I love to wander forth,  
And muse upon the dead.

“And night has come. Among a thousand stars,  
Swift sails the white moon thro' the sapphire blue,  
Like a fair Queen, who leads to glorious wars  
Her steel-robed warriors true.

“Break into foam, O bright and boundless sea,  
Sleepily hurl thy waters evermore,  
So float the calm tides of Eternity  
Upon the golden shore.

" So o'er our dead souls, lost in sensual sleep,  
The glimpses of the glory come and go ;  
So fall the large pearl-tears that angels weep,  
On the dark world below.

" As on the unfeeling sands thy solemn waves  
Dash idly, so upon the shores of Fate,  
Rolls the deep voice that thunders from the graves  
Of the departed great."

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We have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of reports on the Forest Administration of British Burmah, Mysore, and Oude. We have given no notice of Miss Carpenter's recent work, as we hope to be able to review it fully in our next.

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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No. 94.

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## ART. I.—MISS CARPENTER'S SIX MONTHS IN INDIA.

THE education bestowed on the young men of India has, up to the present time, been mainly intellectual : it has not yet been applied, in any systematic manner, either to practical life or to the domain of feeling. In breaking up a system like Hindooism, which rests upon a purely theocratic basis, it is no doubt essential to commence by emancipating the intellect ; but as long as the training received is merely intellectual, so long must it be fraught with considerable danger both to the individual and to the community. The intellect, to which an unnatural predominance is now given, was intended for service, and not for empire ; when apparently supreme, it is really only obedient to the personal instead of the social instincts. Happiness, whether private or public, is far more dependent upon virtue than upon mere knowledge, and hence any system of education which aims simply at developing the intellectual faculties is deficient, and should be regarded as merely provisional.

Human nature is composed of three distinctive elements, —Feeling, Intellect, and Activity,—which require to be so mutually adjusted as to produce a harmonious result. Such a result can be obtained only when Feeling or Affection is made to control both Intellect and Action. The natural supremacy which belongs to Feeling and Intellect, as compared with mere force, is manifest ; for the history of man, in his advance from barbarism to civilisation, is but a record of the gradual triumph of intelligence and sociability over the personal and selfish instincts. That Feeling, however, should preponderate over Intellect, in the same way that Feeling and Intellect together preponderate over Activity, is not so manifest, though a careful consideration of history will show that it is equally true. We shall



assume, then, that in a normal and healthy state of society, the moral element ought to be the controlling one : whenever the intellect struggles for, and appears to acquire, the mastery, there is partial disorder, and the conditions must be regarded as exceptional. Periods characterised by aggression of the intellect must indeed occur, as otherwise change and amelioration would be impossible—at least until such time as a doctrine has been attained, which shall thoroughly reconcile order with progress, conservatism with liberalism, solidarity with continuity.

Such a period of intellectual aggression is the present one, both in Europe and in India—an essentially transitional period during which the old order is breaking up and giving place to the new. The change in Europe is proceeding with great rapidity, and extends to almost every department of human energy. In India, on the contrary, the change is more gradual, and is confined as yet almost wholly to speculation. The English schools and colleges are the centres from whence are radiating doctrines, which, though revolutionary in their origin, must eventually lead to a thorough re-construction of Hindoo society. The attack upon the old order having but recently commenced, it would be premature as yet to dogmatise concerning the final result. A strong and compact fabric like that of Hindoo Polytheism cannot be thoroughly undermined in one or two generations ; a length of time commensurate with the intensity of the forces to be overcome must elapse before any decided change can be effected, and not until the change has become sufficiently marked will it be possible to trace, even in outline, the social organisation of the future. For many years to come there must be a state of anarchy and confusion, the desire for change and innovation continuing to be strong, the submission to authority remaining weak.

We now propose to enquire what is the part which woman is fitted to play under such circumstances.

The transitional period, as we have contended, is at present characterised chiefly by great boldness and activity of the intellect. Now men, as endowed with more intellectual energy than women, are necessarily the first to attack the old beliefs, and, as the vanguard of the invading force, are doomed to suffer severely during the heat of the conflict. While the process of demolition is going on, while doctrines are purely negative, and while the intellect is revelling in a newly-acquired freedom, it is most desirable that women, if they are to retain their distinctive characteristics, should be withheld

from influences which harden, even when they do not debase, those who are submitted to them. These critical epochs are always attended with danger and partial demoralisation;\* they cannot be regarded as good in themselves, though they may be necessary in order to give rise to a better state of things than that which preceded them. Those who have themselves been emancipated from the thralldom of Hindooism, allow, for the most part, that, from a moral point of view, the intellectual training which the youth of India now receives is far from beneficial. The young men, in throwing aside the restraints of their religion, are apt to part with many of those loftier qualities which distinguish their orthodox countrymen—qualities which are to a nation what her sons were to the noble Cornelia, treasures more precious than the costliest gems, gifts compared with which all others sink into insignificance! And we, then, let us ask ourselves, prepared, in solemn earnest, to advise the men of India to introduce among their women an education which, if thoroughly administered, must inevitably destroy the unhesitating faith, the instinctive reverence, the simple tenderness, the calm heroism which ought everywhere to be the peculiar attributes of womanhood, and which avail more than any intellectual accomplishments to secure the real happiness and well-being of mankind? There are facts enough to indicate that the women of this country now possess an ample share of the most essentially feminine virtues.† The practice of Suttee, much as it is to be reprobated, is alone sufficient to vindicate the inherent nobility

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\* The nature of such a period is thus well described by Mr. C. E. Appleton, in a paper on "The Dark Ages," which appeared in the June Number of the *Contemporary Review*. "The intellectual and moral anarchy of the Reformation period is apt to be forgotten amidst the immense advantages which mankind has derived from the movement; but such demoralization is inseparable from those great revolutions in society, when the continual conflict between past and future, which is the life of the present, is aggravated into a crisis, because the *status quo*, instead of passing over insensibly into a new order of things, outlasts its day, and then at length falls through with a crash, to make room for a fabric which has yet to be built from the ground. Such times are always seasons of darkness and social discontinuity; the tendencies to decay prevail over the tendencies to repair, and a pathological condition (as it has been termed) of the body politic ensues."

† It may not be out of place here to quote the following lines from the *Mahābhārata*, in which the old Hindoo ideal of a virtuous wife is depicted:—

"The wife is half the man: a friend,  
The wisest, truest, best;  
On her wealth, virtue, joy depend,  
And hopes of heavenly rest.

of a race which can produce the most exquisite types of purity and tenderness, of courage and self-devotion. Would it not, then, be madness on our part, by prematurely forcing upon them a foreign education, to rob the women of India of qualities which it may be difficult to restore, and in place of which we can only substitute the outward glitter and show of western civilisation, whence there can spring, as yet, naught but a few meagre and problematical benefits? It appears to us that many of those who advise the immediate adoption of European customs and modes of thought, do not sufficiently regard the inevitable consequences of the revolution which they advocate—consequences which, if realised, they themselves would be the first to contemplate with horror, terrified at last by the work of their own hands, like Frankenstein when the livid monster he had fabricated became suddenly instinct with the long-wished-for life.

The earliest effect of a sound English education upon the female mind would be to destroy the old religious beliefs,\*

Call her, thy children's mother, wife,  
 Who tends thy home with skill,  
 Who loves thee as her lord and life,  
 And joys to do thy will.  
 She comforts thee with gentle speech,  
 And all a mother's care;  
 Teaching, as pious fathers teach,  
 Religion, praise, and prayer.  
 Happy the man who, worn and tried  
 By life's hard thorny way,  
 Can find this angel by his side,  
 His comfort, guide, and stay."

\* The following curious remarks, addressed by an orthodox Mussulman to Baboo Shama Churn Bose, the Deputy Inspector of Schools for Burrisal, and quoted by Mr. Woodrow in his Report for 1858-59, will illustrate the effect of our education:—

"With the exception of the blind, whoever possesses the gift of sight, is daily experiencing that the sun rising up in the east gradually declines and sets in the west, while the moon, with all her bright host of heavenly planets, revolves round the earth. But, ah! what a charming infatuation is there in English knowledge. How sadly are you beguiled, perverted, and entangled in the snare of your misguided opinions by your English—you, whose ancestors cherished the religion from time immemorial, have now utterly forsaken it, and maintain, to the prejudice of our daily ocular evidences, that the sun is fixed, and the terraqueous earth revolves round him! Such is the beguiling fascination of the English study! It creates disbelief in faith, and disbelief begets heresy or infidelity which ultimately hurls down mankind to sulphureous hell. Hence the country, far

and with them the ground-work of the popular ethics—a result to be averted at any cost until some fitting substitute has been found. Many will no doubt be inclined to think that serious danger is not to be apprehended because Christianity can immediately supply the required safeguard. We are not among those who would in any way depreciate the wonderful moral efficacy of Christianity; but it appears to us that the experience of past years has shown that Christianity is unlikely to take root in this country—the most trustworthy exponents of the national will having repeatedly and emphatically declared that, whatever other changes may be adopted, the change from Hindooism to Christianity is out of the question. Now more than ever, when the religious mind of European Christendom is slowly drifting from its ancient moorings, when there are traitors in every sect and church, would it be futile to suppose that we can avert the dangers of intellectual negativism by the introduction of a foreign and unsettled creed? Let Europe first work out for herself a religion which shall unite her together, a religion which shall not only satisfy the heart but also convince the understanding, and then she may expect to furnish an antidote for scepticism and immorality, which will be willingly and thankfully received.

We have no desire to relegate the women of India to a never-ending intellectual bondage, but let their freedom, when it comes, be so conferred, that it may prove a blessing instead of a curse to the nation at large. The social medium of Hindooism may hitherto have been unfavorable to the cultivation of mind and the refinement of taste; but as this medium improves, we can see no reason why the daughters of India should not be as richly endowed as those of any other country with all the qualities which are regarded as essential for the highest standard of womanly excellence. They already possess the most important qualification,—domestic virtue,—

... .... For nothing lovelier can be found  
In woman, than to study household good,  
And good works in her husband to promote.

Possessing this, they have a gift like that which the Christians of old were taught to seek—a gift which has the power

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from prospering in its moral and intellectual condition by the study of English, as you aver, is seen to suffer in its religion."

We do not endorse all the sentiments of this zealous Mussulman, but we consider that he represents with tolerable accuracy the opposition that must now-a-days ensue between reason and the prevailing beliefs of the country.

of conferring upon its owner, in due time, all lesser benefits. The educated men of India must doubtless be quite as anxious as their European well-wishers to secure for their countrywomen those advantages which must ensue from an enlightened intelligence and a cultivated taste, without which the chivalrous devotion of man to woman—that rich legacy which feudalism has bequeathed to after-ages—must be wanting. It was the sentiment, not the passion, of love which converted the wild free-booter of medieval times into the courtly knight, the champion of the fair, the protector of the weak ; and it is this sentiment which still purifies the heart, and exalts the intellect of man.—

Quella che imparadisa la mia mente,  
Ogni basso pensier dal cor m' avulse.

Let, then, the men of India form to themselves as exalted an ideal of woman as possible, and let them gradually educate their wives and daughters so as to conform to this ideal ; but let them beware lest, in order to attain the desired end, they commence by destroying the very basis on which they ought to build.

In the book placed at the head of this article, the subject of female education in India is discussed by one who has devoted a large portion of her life to the theory and practice of education. Although it must be allowed by all that Miss Carpenter deserves the greatest credit for her untiring energy, her kindly sympathy, and her enthusiastic zeal, yet we cannot but regard her educational schemes as hastily conceived, and totally unsuited to the peculiar wants of the country which she proposed to benefit.

At a meeting held in Calcutta, in 1866,\* Miss Carpenter thus briefly indicated her opinions and designs :— “ The employment of men in the instruction of girls is one reason why mothers withdraw them at so early an age. The great secret of the little success of female education is evidently the want of good female teachers. To secure these, properly conducted Normal Training Schools are required. The Government will gladly assist in establishing such schools, if they only know that their help will be acceptable. In the scheme which I am about to recommend, I take as a fundamental principle the Government plan of non-interference on the subject of religion. There must

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\* This meeting was held in the hall of the Brahma Samaj, Dec. 1st., 1866. A report of the meeting appeared in the *Friday Review*, Dec. 7th, 1866 ; and of this report we have availed ourselves.

be no interference with the religion either of teachers or pupils. For, I think, the Christians have as good a claim to have their religious feelings respected as the Hindoos. I propose to have a boarding establishment for the pupils while under training: one department for Christians, and another, quite distinct, for Hindoos, where they may live after their own fashion. I next propose to bring from England a lady of first-rate abilities and acquirements, to superintend all the departments of the Training School. I also propose to get from England a first-rate certificated teacher who knows thoroughly all the newest modes of teaching, by which education is now made so attractive to the young. All the Native pupils will learn English, and all the English pupils will learn the Vernacular. Part of the day will be occupied in teaching female schools in the neighbourhood. At first I thought of simply asking for a grant-in-aid from Government, proposing to supply the rest by voluntary contributions; but on mature consideration, I have determined to ask the Government to undertake the whole expense for some time, as it has done for training schools for boys. That Hindoo girls may be greatly improved is evident from what is done in the Mission Schools. In all the Mission Girls' Schools I have found female teachers. When Hindoos become Christians, they of course give up that system of child-marriage which enlightened men deplore. They can thus remain at school for a longer period, so that they can be trained to be teachers. At present the girls attending schools are very few in number; but with better teachers and training many more parents would send their children to be educated.\*

At a meeting held in Madras, early in 1867, Miss Carpenter explained, as follows, the nature of the education which she

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\* Baboo Khetter Mohun Ghose, one of the speakers at the same meeting, thus criticised Miss Carpenter's views:—"There are difficulties in the way of such a training school as Miss Carpenter had proposed, which would be insuperable for many years to come. The same difficulty which prevents respectable Hindoos from sending their girls to the Bethune School, would prevent their sending them to the proposed school. It is vain to expect the natives to take the initiative in this matter. We have been talking and speechifying on this subject for the last 25 years, but what have we accomplished? It is mockery to say that girls are *educated* in the Bethune School; my own girl was sent at 7 years of age and married at 8. She was not allowed to attend school after that, for I had in this matter to consult the wishes of my relatives. Again, teachers educated in the way Miss Carpenter proposes must be 'converts,' for no respectable native will send his daughter. With such a body of teachers you can accomplish nothing.

deemed fit for Hindoo girls :— “ As to the subjects in which the girls are to be educated, their education should be such as to render them fit and useful help-mates. Here I shall simply state what I have found useful in English schools. With girls as with boys, the mind as well as the body should be developed. English girls take out-door exercise, but Native girls are not allowed to join in out-door recreation. I would, therefore, suggest calisthenic exercise, which is productive of immense good. I would also suggest the cultivation of a plot of ground. The cultivation of beautiful flowers helps to soften the mind of girls. We shall now turn to the intellectual powers, which, I need hardly say, require careful training. It won't do merely to teach them, but they should also be taught to think, and make use of what they learn. I would show the girls experiments in Natural Philosophy, not as mere spectacles, but explaining the principles in familiar and easy language, adapted to their capacities. Music also should be taught to girls, as it tends to refine the mind. I would add Drawing to the other accomplishments.”

That a plan which (i) regarded it as feasible to take young Hindoo girls, the children of the upper classes, away from their homes, in order to educate them in public schools, and that in a country where the seclusion of women is almost an article of faith ; which (ii) manifested no just appreciation of the religious scruples of Hindoo parents ; and which (iii) utterly ignored the impossibility of inducing persons of different creeds in India to dwell together within the same establishment, and to recognise in all matters, whether domestic or professional, the authority of an English lady :—that such a plan should have been elaborated by one whose experience was confined to England, is not surprising, although Miss Carpenter has recorded in her book facts which might have led her to form a more correct estimate of the difficulties she would meet with, and might have warned her that India was not the place where such a revolution, as that which she so warmly and pertinaciously advocated, would have any chance of success.

One great, and perhaps the greatest, obstacle which English education has to encounter in the case of women, is the fear of proselytism which exists in the native mind—a fear which is not unfounded, and which is certain to be realised if English women are to be the teachers of their own sex. Men, with their cold, unbiassed intellects, can, as a rule, be relied upon for abstaining from religious propagandism, but it would be impossible to debar a

woman from expatiating upon those subjects which are nearest to her heart, and that woman would make but an indifferent preceptress who did not regard her religion as furnishing the highest moral code, and as indispensable in forming the characters of her pupils. But, even if teachers could be found who were anxious to restrict themselves to purely secular instruction, it will always be difficult, and often impossible, to separate such instruction from topics of a religious nature. The following incident,\* related by a lady who is engaged in zenana teaching, will serve to show how readily the secular may glide into the religious :— “ One day the following sentence occurred in the No. 1 English Spelling-book :— ‘ Christ laid down his life for his sheep.’ My pupils said they could not understand the meaning, and asked me to explain it. I did so to the best of my ability, and apparently they did understand my mixture of bad Bengalee and Hindostanee, for one who appeared to be more impressed than the others observed :— ‘ If God is just and good, why did he allow a sinless man to die for sinners ? and if Jesus Christ, who you say was pure and holy and sinless, died for sinners, then did he love you Christians much, for no man would die for another ? ’ ” Miss Carpenter does not appear to have considered with sufficient care the difficulty arising from the religious aspect of the question ; she does not altogether ignore it, but seems to think a simple declaration of neutrality sufficient to obviate it. She mentions, however, several circumstances which, if duly weighed, might have proved to her that the Hindoo’s vague terror of conversion was not to be so easily overcome. Thus (1) in explaining how difficult it would be for an English lady, engaged in teaching, to find suitable accommodation at Ahmedabad, she observes :— “ The missionary had not a home where he could receive any lady to board ; and if he had, it would not be considered suitable by the natives for her to live there, as it would give her work a proselytising character, which would entirely defeat its object. No guarantee on her part would remove the suspicion from the native ladies that her real intention was to convert them ; and interference with their religion they would not tolerate.” (2). At a meeting which was held at the house of Mr. Powell, in Madras, Miss Carpenter enquired particularly from

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\* Quoted from the *Indian Church Gazette* in the *Indian Daily News* of Feb. 26, 1868.



the native gentlemen present the cause of their evident objection to allowing their daughters to learn English. One of them answered:—"We do not wish our ladies to be made humble Christians." It may surprise many to find that this 'plain, blunt man' was included among those who on the same occasion signed the following statement:—"We, the undersigned, being deeply impressed in the cause of female education, feel it absolutely necessary for its promotion to have an institution established for the training of female teachers." One who dreaded the effects of an English education upon the religious principles of Hindoo ladies, should surely have affixed his signature with some qualification. (3). In describing one of the Rev. Mr. Long's schools, it is stated that a certain plan,\* which was freely adopted in the case of boys, could not be employed with girls, "because there is extreme fear among the Hindoos<sup>f</sup> of their daughters being converted." This shows (as might have been anticipated on *a priori* grounds) that the fear of conversion operates far more strongly with regard to girls than it does with regard to boys.

It is true that Miss Carpenter strongly deprecates any interference with social or religious customs, but she does not indicate how the orthodox Hindoo is to be persuaded that our intentions are harmless, and she fails to perceive that he may dread perversion as much as conversion, and that an English education, by unsettling the ancient modes of action and belief, must lead to the most disastrous results: or, if she does believe that partial injury may ensue, she hopes (as is more than probable from several passages in her book) that from the wild chaos of opinions there may emerge a kind of transcendental Christianity, sufficiently soon to prevent any extensive demoralisation. If this conclusion be correct, it cannot but be regarded as somewhat inconsistent that, while assuring the Hindoos that their religious susceptibilities will be scrupulously respected, they should nevertheless be urged to adopt a system which must eventually lead to the very result which they now so intensely dread.

Miss Carpenter has taken no small pains to ascertain the opinion of those members of the native community with whom

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\* Namely, the plan of dividing the time of one thoroughly trained teacher among a number of village-schools, giving a day to each. Mr. Long thus instructs the teacher, and introduces a higher standard into the schools, especially as he himself not unfrequently visits them.

she came in contact, as to the value of her mission, and her probable chances of success. Whenever a social meeting is held in honor of the noble-hearted Englishwoman, some of those present are requested by her to express their views in writing. Miss Carpenter has favored her readers with several of the records made in her memorandum book on such occasions—records which may no doubt be gratifying as expressions of sympathy and admiration, but which, in most cases, are not such as to inspire one with much confidence in the judgment and good taste of the writers. One gentleman, for example, thus expresses his sentiments:—"Be hopeful, O my heart, thy hovering doubts are past and gone; that which thou didst believe to be impossible will now be accomplished through the friendly exertion of Miss Carpenter, the famous philanthropist of Bristol. The grand object of her visit to this country is, I believe, to do what she can towards rescuing our women from their present degrading ignorance and superstition, and thereby elevate their moral and social position. May the Almighty and All-merciful God bless her efforts and grant her every success! Amen." Another reasons thus:—"The great difficulty in the work of female education in this country is that we cannot find competent female instructors among us. She (Miss Carpenter) has come here to observe the condition of women in this country, and to promote their education. I am of opinion that if we get a European lady to teach them, it will be very well. Our women are very sharp, and quite able to learn what may be taught them. They easily learn our religious books taught them by male teachers. Secular learning is not more difficult. Secular education makes no progress because we have no female teachers. It is because they are ignorant that they (women of this country) do not understand in some respects what is right and good, and what is wrong and bad. They are not able to hear and read books containing good knowledge. Then, again, they are, for the most part, confined to their houses, which prevents the development of their faculties. I have much more to say. I have expressed my views very briefly. I conclude now. I very much thank Miss Carpenter for her coming over to this country to encourage education among our fair sex, and to improve their condition. It is very good of her to do so. I hope the social position and condition of our females will begin to improve from this time."

The only really valuable expressions of native opinion, cited by Miss Carpenter, are those which have emanated from such

men as Baboos Kissory Chand Mittra, Peary Chand Mittra, Keshub Chunder Sen, and a few others, who belong, like them, to the most advanced school of liberals. This school, it should be remembered, forms but a very small section of the native community ; it exerts, no doubt, a considerable influence owing to its earnestness and capacity, but it can only be regarded as feebly representing the wants and wishes of the vast body of the nation. However confident we may feel as to the ultimate success of many of the reforms advocated by this little band of Hindoo free-thinkers, it would be both impolitic and unjust if the Government (which should legislate impartially for all) were, in accordance with the suggestions of a few bold innovators, to impose upon the majority schemes greatly at variance with their ordinary habits and most cherished predilections.

The Government has certainly a difficult task to perform, being naturally anxious to promote the cause of enlightenment and advancement, as it is termed by the enlightened few, and yet being fully alive to its responsibilities as the sovereign and protector both of the enlightened few and the unenlightened many. The recent resolution on the subject of Female Normal Schools bears marks of this two-fold solicitude. While consenting, under certain restrictions, to establish Female Normal Schools in the three Presidency towns as an experimental measure, the Government carefully abstains from any interference with the ordinary schools beyond that already exercised, and refuses to sanction any additional outlay of the public money for their support. To effect any extensive or immediate changes, the radical party must henceforth rely upon their own resources : they can expect no direct aid from a Government which is wisely determined to advance in the path of reform most gradually but none the less surely. The resolution thus indicates the policy to be pursued :—

“ The Government of India need not say that it recognises to the fullest extent the fact that the encouragement of female education is an object the importance of which cannot be estimated too highly. But it fears that, if the greatest care and caution be not exercised, the efforts of the Government to promote this object may tend rather to frustrate it, and to stimulate the opposition of the ignorant and suspicious.

“ The Governor-General in Council is far from satisfied that (except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Presidency towns) the native community has as yet shown any spontaneous desire

for the extension of female education ; indeed, there is ground to fear that the action already taken in that direction on the part of Government has, in some places, been regarded with mistrust ; nor is it surprising that this should be the case. The true value of education, even for males, is hardly as yet fully appreciated by the native community at large ; while, on the other hand, it must be obvious, even to the most ignorant among them, that the natural result of the general extension of female education would be to place the domestic relations of every family on a new footing, and to break up existing social habits and traditions. Even when these results themselves are fully accepted as beneficial, the interference of foreign rulers to effect them will probably be distasteful. Far more must this be the case when such changes are opposed to widely prevailing customs, or to deeply-rooted and long-established prejudices. It is on these grounds that his Excellency in Council considers that if measures for female education be set on foot by external influence, and especially by that of Government, the Native community is not likely to co-operate in forwarding them, but, on the contrary, will receive them with apathy, if not with opposition.

“ It is only when large experience has taught the people the advantage of education generally, and the special benefit which the spread of female education would effect, that they can reasonably be expected to feel the want of means for female education, and it is only then that any demand for the supply of these is likely to arise ; but it is probably only to a very limited extent in the Presidency towns, and among those classes who have participated in the advantages of superior English education, that such a want has yet been felt.

“ The Governor-General in Council, therefore, considers it a grave political necessity to maintain the principle of the rules which have been already prescribed, that is to say, that as a condition of pecuniary aid from Government, it should be always required that the initiative in every case be taken, *bonâ fide*, by the native local community itself, and that they should contribute a reasonable share of the requisite outlay as a pledge of their earnestness and sincerity. It may, however, as has been already said, be admitted that, to some extent, the want of female education is beginning to be felt in the Presidency towns—at least among the more highly educated classes of the native community. The Governor-General in Council is, therefore, willing so far to relax existing rules as to permit the

local Governments of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal to carry out the experiment of a Female Normal School in the three Presidency towns, and for this purpose to place at the disposal of each Government the sum of Rs. 12,000 per annum for five years. A special report on the progress of each school, and of the classes which avail themselves of its benefits, should be furnished annually to the Government of India.

"But, as regards the interior of the country, His Excellency in Council is unable to depart from the conditions already specified, and which are recognised by the existing rules under which grants-in-aid are given."

Among the suggestions made by Miss Carpenter for the establishment of a Female Normal School, we find the following :—(1) "A house should be procured, adapted to furnish a comfortable residence for about a dozen Christian students, with a Lady Superintendent. Arrangements should be made for the separate boarding of non-christian native students when required."\* (2) "Persons who wish to become students in training, must apply to the Inspector, and must satisfy him that it is their intention to study, and faithfully to prepare to be teachers. They will receive board and instruction while in the institution." The Inspector, we imagine, would not be overburdened with applications from respectable Hindoo women, who were expected to leave their homes and board in the same dwelling with those who were not Hindoos. There is great difficulty, as it is, in obtaining any but women of the lowest class to engage in teaching; but the difficulty would become quite insurmountable if such a condition as that stated in the above suggestions were to be exacted. But, waiving this objection, there are still two very serious obstacles to the creation of such institutions :—(1) The teachers required, whether it be for the *zenana* or the school, should not be drawn from the lowest stratum of society; for if so, no respectable Hindoo father would entrust his young daughters to their charge.† But where are the women of

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\* Miss Carpenter considers it desirable to exclude *men-servants* from the household.

† There exists among the natives a strong prejudice against those who are now educated in the Female Normal Schools. The idea is not unfrequently entertained that the pupils who attend these schools are women of bad character. Mr. Clarke, in his Report for 1866-67, says:—"I find from the testimony of persons not officially connected with me, that there is a very common belief, even in Dacca town itself, that the Female Normal School pupils are disreputable women. As far as I can learn, there is

refinement to be found who either would themselves be willing, or who, even if willing, could obtain the consent of their parents or guardians to allow them to pursue education as a profession? Plato himself had not more contempt for the sophist who imparted knowledge and wisdom to the Athenian youth for pay, than the Hindoo would have for the woman who gained her livelihood by teaching—even though her pupils were not trained to make the worse appear the better cause. (2) Granting, however, that a suitable body of teachers has been obtained, there still remains the difficulty of inducing families of the upper classes to patronise girls' schools so long as Hindoo society retains its present domestic usages. The seclusion of women among the Hindoos, to whatever cause its origin may be ascribed, has now been sanctioned by tradition and rendered obligatory by national consent. This custom presents a formidable obstacle to all those who commence their educational reforms by endeavouring to entice the Hindoo maiden from her home. Again, (as Mr. Atkinson has well observed,) "in a country where girls marry at 4 years of age, exchange their father's home for their husband's at 8, and are mothers at 12, it is not from schools that any great success can be anticipated." For many years to come it will only be possible, it appears to us, to reach the upper classes through the zenana, and any plan will miscarry which does not bring female education "within the *penetralia* of home."

The experiment of public schools for girls has now been fairly tried; and though there has been a marvellous increase in the number of pupils, within a very short period, yet the social stratum from which the children are drawn remains at a constant level, and the instruction imparted is still of the most superficial kind. Taking the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, it appears that in 1859-60, there were eight schools in operation with an average attendance of 199 girls; "but their condition," observes the Director, "does not lead me to regard our efforts, in behalf of female education through the medium of schools, as likely to be attended with any great success.\*"

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no ground whatever for this notion. The Deputy Inspector of Dacca, in reference to this matter, states that there is no foundation for this belief, except the tendency to impute dishonour to any woman who will consent at all to appear in public."

\* He adds:—"It is right to state, however, that Mr. Woodrow reports more favorably of two or three private schools in his division, founded and maintained by educated native gentlemen, *alumni* of the schools and colleges."

The schools in existence at this time are described as "nothing better than infant schools of an inferior class." In 1866-67, the number of girls' schools, including private house schools, conducted by zenana associations, amounted to 281, showing a very considerable increase in mere numbers during a period of eight years.\* This increase, it must be admitted, affords to the advocates of the present system a fair argument in its defence. But if, instead of considering the number of pupils, we examine the quality of the instruction imparted, it will be found that the progress is only apparent, and that no serious breach can have yet been made in those traditional beliefs which the women of India are taught to venerate. The Director in his Report for 1866-67, expresses his regret that "the education does not improve in proportion to the increase in the number of schools and pupils." Mr. Woodrow, one of the most zealous advocates of female school education, observes that "the standard of instruction attained is by no means so satisfactory as the increase of numbers:" and speaking of the future prospects of female education, he says:—"Custom among the Hindoos receives more observance than any deity of the Pantheon, and custom is against the education of women." The Deputy Inspector of Calcutta declares that, in the 85 girls' schools established in the Central Division, "the instruction is mostly of an elementary character, owing to the early age at which girls cease to attend school after their betrothal." He also asserts that most of the schools "are conducted in a way to reflect little credit upon the management. The stipulated expenditure is seldom adequate to the purpose for which the school is established, and even this expenditure is not always kept up." Mr. Clarke, the Inspector of the South-East Division, thus describes the female schools in his district:—"The female schools which I have seen consist, in general, of three to six infants sprawling about and inking

\* The accompanying table will show the increase during each year:—

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Number of Schools.</i>	<i>Number of Pupils.</i>
1859-60	8	199
1860-61	16	395
1861-62	15	530
1862-63	35	1,183
1863-64	115	2,933
1864-65	174	4,064
1865-66	217	5,559
1866-67	281	6,531

The year 1859-60 was the first of the present Director's incumbency.

their fingers in copying letters upon strips of leaves. Sometimes one or two could attempt a very little reading.\* He adds:—"The giving of Government money to these can only be justified on the understanding that they are the beginning of a different system. If the girls are to be removed when they are eight or nine years old, and re-placed by other children of four or five years old, the matter may as well be given up." Mr. Medicott, the late Inspector of the South-West Division, has, in the Report for 1862-63, recorded his impressions as to the general result of the movement in favour of female education, in the following terms:—"I have no doubt the movement in favour of girls' schools is a very important one; but, as far as my experience goes, I am induced rather to admire the zeal of those reformers who so actively urge other people to send their girls to the schools than to attach much importance to the result of their labours." The best known and the most important of all the girls' schools in Bengal is the one which was established in Calcutta in 1849, by the Hon. J. Drinkwater Bethune;† this school, from the advantages which it has all along enjoyed, may be fairly assumed to be greatly above the average both in the excellence of its teaching and the rank of its pupils, and we therefore think ourselves more

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\* Mr. Clarke describes four schools in his district in which very fair progress had been made: these, therefore, will not come within the general class described above. The whole number of girls' schools under inspection in the South-Eastern Division is 82.

† This school was opened in May 1849, having been built at the private expense of the Hon. J. Drinkwater Bethune at a cost of Rs. 60,000. Mr. Bethune supported the school, paying above Rs. 600 a month, till his death in 1851. By his will the school was made over to Government; but pending the approval of the Court of Directors, Lord Dalhousie supported it, paying, for nearly five years, Rs. 7,929 a year for its maintenance from his own private purse. On Lord Dalhousie's departure from India in 1856, the Government took it in hand. The monthly allowance for the establishment has been Rs. 617 a month. In the year 1855, being in a dying condition, it was, by the advice of Dr. Duff, put under the charge of a native committee with Mr Cecil Beadon as President, and Pundit Iswur Chunder Bidasagur as Secretary. It never had a vigorous life, and the imposition of a monthly fee of Re. 1 at the beginning of 1867 proved too much for its vitality. Matters reached a crisis at the end of the year, and the school has lately been put under the Director of Public Instruction. The school is now being carried on with an attendance of about 20 pupils, and there seems to be a probability of its collapsing altogether.

We are indebted for the information in this note to the kindness of a friend who is well conversant with all educational matters.



than justified in selecting it as a tolerably good specimen of its class. The following extracts from a report of Mr. Woodrow \* will show what was the condition of the school in 1863-64 :—"The school has enjoyed the advantage of excellent head-mistresses, but after fifteen years' labour, the results are scarcely such as to give encouragement. The girls marry about 10 years of age, and cease attendance just at the age when their progress is most apparent. The little girls, when first admitted, are excessively irregular; they absent themselves for every trifling reason, and often without any reason at all. Consequently, as in all other girls' schools, much time is lost in the first two years, and the majority of children are unable to read and understand even simple stories." "Only 21 girls out of the 64 in attendance were accustomed to attach meaning to what they read. There are on the rolls 26 girls in the first three classes, 13 in the 4th, and 53 in the 5th and 6th. The last 53 girls never attempt to understand the meaning of their books. The 13 girls above them are in an intermediate state, and only 26 girls, who form the three higher classes, have attained to such a moderate knowledge of reading as may be practically useful in the ordinary concerns of life." "The children do not seem to be drawn from the rich classes of society; for the recent order that children should pay for their books excited much opposition, and the hint that I gave of the expediency of imposing a small fee was unanimously opposed." "The average cost to Government of each child in attendance in the Bethune School is about Rs. 10 a month." "The sum raised by subscription last year for the Bethune School was nothing."† Such is the description of this school as given by one who, regarding the present system from a favourable point of view, would not be willing to exaggerate defects or to set down aught in malice.

If any considerable number of Hindoos are anxious to promote such a delusive kind of education as that which now

\* Quoted by Mr. Atkinson in his Report for 1863-64. Miss Carpenter, it may be observed, has only availed herself to a very limited extent of the valuable reports which have issued from the Department of Public Instruction. Her account of the Bethune School is very unsatisfactory.

† The Mofussil residents, according to Mr. Woodrow, subscribe more liberally to the support of female schools than the wealthy inhabitants of Calcutta.

appears to prevail throughout the girls' schools of Bengal, they are free to do so, though the advantage of such a course is by no means apparent ; but the State would decidedly not be justified in appropriating the public revenues in order to develop a system which is regarded with aversion by the bulk of the nation, and which has not succeeded in gaining the approval of the very class for which it was intended.

If the Reports of the Directors of Public Instruction in Madras and Bombay be examined, a similar state of things will be disclosed in the sister Presidencies. Everywhere there is a steady increase in numerical strength, but everywhere there are the same complaints as to the irregularity of attendance, the extreme youth of the pupils, and the inefficiency of the instruction imparted. The Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, in his Report for 1866-67, makes the following remarks, with special reference to the exertions of Miss Carpenter :—" In the course of the year under review, the question of female education received much discussion among the more enlightened Hindoos at the Presidency town. The subject has naturally, for many years past, engaged the attention of educated natives ; but omitting the establishment of a few schools, in which elementary instruction is conveyed to girls of a tender age by male teachers, the result has been rather in word than in acts. A stimulus was afforded in connection with the subject by a visit from Miss Carpenter, whose philanthropic exertions in England to improve the more neglected sections of the community are well known. At several meetings, in which this lady took part, the following points were debated :—(1), Whether the time had arrived for Government to take a direct share in female education ; and (2), if so, what is the direct work which it is advisable Government should undertake ? In the discussions very conflicting views were put forward. It appeared, however, that the general feeling was that, at any rate, Government should not do more than establish a Normal School for training female teachers. Even action to this extent, which is what Miss Carpenter advocates, would involve tolerably heavy expenditure, according to that lady's scheme ; while it is almost certain that, for some time to come, the results attained would be very small."

In maintaining, as we have done, that Hindoo society is not yet ripe for such a revolutionary scheme of female education as that contemplated by Miss Carpenter, we are yet far from wishing, even now, to discourage every attempt to improve the

existing state of things. Much can no doubt be accomplished without rudely demolishing the landmarks of the past. There are certain accomplishments which are useful and harmless under all social conditions, but these any educated native gentleman could himself secure for his wife and daughters. What is to be deprecated is any violent interference with time-honoured customs and traditions until the men of India have themselves acquired a body of ascertained beliefs, which will enable them to introduce into their homes a really renovating education, which, while it improves the intellect, will not harden or debase the heart; which, while increasing the strength of woman's character, may not destroy, but rather enhance, her natural tenderness. To accomplish the task here described, the men of India must exert *themselves*. Europeans cannot, as a rule, take the initiative in such a matter owing to their ignorance of the details of Hindoo life, and their utter want of sympathy with oriental habits and modes of thought. Europeans should be content to tender their advice when it is asked for, and should earnestly endeavour to master the complicated social problems that present themselves, so that their advice, when tendered, may command respect. Let the Hindoo state the problem, for he alone possesses the requisite data; and let him attempt its solution, guided occasionally by the larger experience of the European thinker.

It must be apparent even to the most superficial observer, that the English education now administered in our colleges is gradually revolutionising the intellectual condition of the men of India. That education is of a most searching character, and is thoroughly alien to the characteristic conceptions of Hindooism, as also to the spirit of its domestic institutions. The old theology of Brahmin priests has been replaced by the rational negativism of Europe as displayed in the 18th and 19th centuries; the inexact and highly coloured narratives of epic annalists have made room for the critical and sober history of later and more exacting writers, for the orderly *fasti* of Greece and Rome, for the lucid records of modern Europe; the wild and profitless metaphysics of Vedic commentators have yielded, though perhaps reluctantly, to the real and fruitful speculations of modern science. Of those who accept our training, the majority, it may be, welcome it simply as a stepping-stone to their advancement in life, but there are a few—and these form the *elite* of our pupils—who have higher aspirations, and who, penetrated with a deep sense of the insufficiency of Hindooism to meet the political and social exigencies of the future, are ready to proclaim themselves the apostles of reform,

the leaders of a movement which has for its ultimate object the complete renovation of the existing order. In the minds of all, however, whether the careless many or the earnest few, there may be observed an undisguised contempt for the beliefs of their forefathers and the traditions of the people. This feeling of contempt, so far as it rests upon a basis of reason, and is accompanied by a hearty desire for improvement, is not to be censured; but too often it is wholly unreasonable, and induces the youthful sceptic to include in the same category the good as well as the evil, that which is praiseworthy as well as that which is reprehensible. As an instance of the indiscriminate reprobation of the past in which young Hindoostan delights to indulge, we may adduce the language ordinarily held on the subject of caste. One who aspires to be a prophet among the people does not hesitate to write thus:—"That Hindoo castism is a frightful social scourge, no one can deny. It has completely and hopelessly wrecked social unity, harmony, and happiness; and for centuries it has opposed all social progress. But few seem to think that it is not so much as a social but as a religious institution that it has become the great scourge it really is. As a system of absurd social distinction, it is certainly pernicious. But when we view it on moral grounds, it appears a scandal to conscience, and an insult to humanity; and all our moral ideas and sentiments rise to execrate it, and to demand its immediate extermination."\* Whatever truth there may be in the above description, the writer shows himself incapable of perceiving that the system which he stigmatises has some good features, and that, whatever may be its present deficiencies, it has rendered to mankind signal services in the past. Shallow scepticism must be regarded as one of the necessary evils of an education like ours, which is simply negative, and which rests upon no universally acknowledged moral basis. The enthusiasm and audacity of youth must always find an outlet, so that we cannot be surprised if, in a time of revolution, the young should flock with eagerness to swell the ranks of daring and superficial innovators, and that, perceiving nowhere

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\* This passage is quoted by Miss F. P. Cobbe in an article written by her on 'The Brahmo Somaj,' which appeared in *Fraser* (August 1866); It occurs in one of Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen's 'Appeals to young India. We wish it to be clearly understood that although we regard to many of the reforms advocated by the Progressive Brahmos as premature and ill-advised, still we have the greatest admiration for the zeal and ability of their young leader.

any fixed principles round which to rally, they should indulge in the brief ecstasy of unbounded freedom and indiscriminate license. The contrast continually presented to the young Hindoo between the intellectual world in which he mentally dwells, and the domestic environment amidst which his active life is spent, must be sometimes painful and always bewildering. Such a state of things demands our sympathy instead of our scorn, and without pronouncing a harsh and unqualified verdict on what is unavoidable, we should endeavour to impress upon those who are educated how necessary it is that they should not rest satisfied with a system which must remain barren of really good results, until it can furnish a moral as well as a mental discipline, and can prove itself a safe guide for conduct, as well as a successful instrument for modifying opinions.

That the present mode of training can endure for many generations longer, we deem most improbable. A change of some kind must be effected, so that the lessons learnt from the mother's lips in early childhood may agree with, and supplement, the instruction imparted in after-years in the school or college. It becomes important therefore to ascertain, if possible, the probable nature of the system under which the future education of the Hindoos will be accomplished. There are those who feel confident that Christianity, under some form or other, will, in process of time, be voluntarily accepted by the people of India; but initiation into the science and literature of the west has hitherto kindled among the educated only a vague and useless admiration for the ethical precepts of the Gospel: no readiness has been displayed to accept its dogmatic basis, or to regard it as the supreme source of a nation's moral life. And if here and there an educated native has been induced to adopt our religion, the educated natives as a body have not failed to observe that the intellect of Europe in the aggregate is drifting away from Christianity, while the intellect of India stands coldly aloof from it. What is now therefore required is a system adapted to the peculiar needs and special idiosyncrasy of the Hindoo, which, dispensing with the old Vedic idea of revelation, shall rest upon a logical basis, and yet be such as to satisfy the moral requirements of man's nature. "It is necessary," says an eminent modern writer, "that moral education should be based both upon Reason and Feeling, the latter always having the preponderance. The result of the rational basis should be to bring moral precepts to the test of rigorous demonstration, and to secure

them from all danger against discussion by showing that they rest upon the laws of our individual and social nature. By knowing the laws, we shall be enabled to form a judgment of the influence of each affection, thought, action, or habit, be that influence direct or indirect, special or general, in private life or in public. Convictions based upon such knowledge will be as deep as any that are formed in the present day from the strictest scientific evidence, with that excess of intensity due to their higher importance and their close connection with our noblest feelings. Nor will such convictions be limited to those who are able to appreciate the logical value of the argument. We see constantly in other departments of positive science that men will adopt notions upon trust, and carry them out with the same zeal and confidence as if they were thoroughly acquainted with all the grounds of their belief. All that is necessary is that they should feel satisfied that their confidence is well bestowed. The most willing assent is yielded every day to the rules which mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, chemists, or biologists, have laid down in their respective arts, even in cases where the greatest interests are at stake. And similar assent will certainly be accorded to moral rules when they, like the rest, shall be acknowledged to be susceptible of scientific proof. But demonstration is not enough; for moral education, even in its more systematic parts, should rest principally on Feeling. The principal source of real morality must lie in the direct exercise of our social sympathies, whether systematic or spontaneous. No efforts must be spared to develop these sympathies from the earliest years by every method which sound philosophy can indicate. It is in this that moral education, whether private or public, must principally consist, and to it mental education must always be held subordinate."

Until the time has arrived when a discipline such as that here indicated shall be possible in India, Reason and Feeling must remain, as now, divorced, and the training received in early years must be sadly at variance with the principles imbibed in after-life. The great defect of our educational system in India—a defect which is for awhile unavoidable—is that it lays so much stress upon the intellectual element, while it positively destroys the only available *régime* under which feeling might receive at least an empirical discipline. Our educationists either fail to perceive that the intellect, when unrestrained by higher considerations, will abuse its power, or, if aware of the dangers incurred, they propose

remedies which are ineffectual, and which are not likely to be accepted by those to whom they are proffered. So long as the men of India cannot agree among themselves as to the nature of the moral discipline which ought to supplement the present secular training, so long must society be exposed to serious danger: but this danger would be increased ten-fold if we were to tamper with the beliefs of the women, and were to succeed in destroying their instinctive conservatism, which is now the principal safeguard against the introduction of crude reforms and hastily conceived theories. We must be careful not to associate women with the revolutionary movement, until the work of re-construction is fairly begun; for as the intellect of woman is far less energetic than that of man, she could reap but scant advantage from the highest *mental* culture, while her keen moral susceptibility would be blunted, and, amid the perplexing variety of opinions in which she would be entangled, her love and faith would assuredly suffer shipwreck. It is women who are now, and who must ever, continue to be the chief educators of the young; for that part of education which has the greatest influence upon life, namely, the spontaneous training of the feelings, belongs entirely to the mother. At present the teaching of the mother, in the case of men, is rendered nugatory by the destructive influences of an unhealthy negativism, acquired when the maternal influence has been withdrawn; but under a better state of things there should be no opposition between the lessons received in the family during childhood, and the more enlarged training of a later period. Hindooism is the only means that now exists for offering anything like a systematic moral discipline to both men and women; the discipline may be imperfect, but it is better than none, and until a fitting substitute can be found, it is important that its hold on the female mind should not be loosened, for to woman belongs peculiarly the task of upholding and practically enforcing the popular faith—a task she would not be fitted to perform if any doubt existed in her mind as to its logical validity. We maintain, therefore, that, if the women of India are to study English literature and acquire European accomplishments, the greatest care should be taken that no disturbing elements of a religious nature are introduced. Give them such education as is possible without undermining the source of their present beliefs, but on no account let them be exposed to the certain dangers which the men are now encountering, and

which they cannot overcome except by sacrificing most of what they once regarded with implicit confidence and profound respect. Let the men first surmount the difficulties by which they are surrounded, and let them arrive at a definite basis of religion, before attempting to unfasten the hold of Hindooism upon the minds of the women. When a fitting substitute for Hindooism has been found, when it has at length become possible to reconcile reason and faith, then, and not till then, will it be advisable to lead the women of India into the full blaze of western civilization ; for then their husbands will have acquired convictions upon the most vital points, which their wives may innocently share with them, and which they will easily be induced to accept.



## ART. II.—PORT CANNING AND ITS MUNICIPALITY.

**T**HERE has of late been so much discussion on the subject of Port Cauning—its past and future—that we may be pardoned if we attempt to avail ourselves of the interest, however transient it may be, which has recently been excited in its affairs, to make some comments on its Municipal administration, in the hope that they may prove neither uninteresting nor un instructive to our readers.

It is said of the clever Capuchins that they never essay to preach on the miracles or lives of any one of their saints until they have sufficiently excited the devotional feelings of their audience by the exhibition of some relic of him, be it only a tooth or a lock of his hair. On the same principle we wish to take advantage of the present opportunity for the introduction of a subject which possibly at any other time might not command so favourable a hearing.

We would wish it to be distinctly understood that we disclaim all design in this article of entering upon the merits of the internecine squabbles by which the Port Canning Company has of late most unfortunately been distracted. We have no intention of touching further upon these topics than is absolutely necessary to the elucidation of the subject of which we treat. We propose rather to confine ourselves to an examination of the progress of the port in its administration by its Municipal Board, and to the results which have been achieved through its instrumentality—considering also how far the trust reposed in it has been justified, and whether an equivalent return has been realized for the very large expenditure which has been incurred, leaving it to our readers to draw their own conclusions after a consideration of the facts which we shall recapitulate for their information.

In the latter part of 1861, an application was addressed to the Government of Bengal by persons interested in the advancement of the Mutlah as an auxiliary port to Calcutta, for the appointment of a Municipal Commission; and it was suggested as expedient, in the interests of the new town of Canning, that this body should be principally composed of persons already holding land within the town and one or more Government official members.

To this proposition the Government of Bengal assented, and in 1862 a Committee was duly appointed under Act XXVI. of 1850. It was not, however, until early in the year 1863 that the proprietary rights of the Government were vested in this Committee, who were then appointed as trustees for the lands known as Lots 50 and 54, and so marked in the map of the Soonderbunds, known as "Captain Hodge's" chart. There were certain trifling reservations in this trust on which it is perhaps unnecessary to enter here, and which we have therefore omitted. Later in the year, the Government of Bengal, with the sanction of the Government of India, further declared these lots to be granted in freehold tenure to the Municipal Commissioners in trust for the town and port, and relinquished for ever all claim to land revenue for the lands so transferred.

The Committee, being entirely without funds with which to undertake the improvement of the town and port committed to their trust, at once applied to the Government for a loan of two lakhs of rupees for the purpose. This, however, the Government then declined to grant, but, recognizing the difficulties with which the Commissioners had to contend, suggested that a public loan should be opened on the security of the land which had been vested in the Commissioners, and authorized the framing of certain rules with this view, which, it was directed, should also regulate the grant of leases by the Committee.

As some delay ensued in determining the terms of this loan, and obtaining the Government sanction to those it was ultimately proposed to offer, it was only in November of the same year that it was brought before the public; and it soon became evident that it would neither command the success which had at first been anticipated, nor the confidence of the general public, who, it would seem from their reluctance to purchase the Debentures, at that time took but little interest in the scheme.

To the offer of this loan, which was for no less a sum than ten lakhs of rupees, tendered at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest per annum on the security of Municipal Debentures, which were made redeemable in five years by the Commissioners, there was little or no response, and but two lakhs and sixty-five thousand rupees were subscribed.

Failing in this expedient, the Commissioners appear again to have addressed the Government, representing the difficulties of

their position, and entreating that an advance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs might be granted for the improvement of the town upon the same security. To this request, however, the Government still declined to accede. It is apparent from the above that up to the beginning of the year 1864 no very active measures had been taken by the Government of Bengal in the advancement of the interests of the port further than the grant in freehold tenure of the land required, and the authorization to open a public Debenture Loan upon the security which it afforded, with this exception, however, that it was upon the recommendation of Sir Cecil Beadon, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that the Government of India was induced to come forward, in July 1864, with a proposal to grant to the Commissioners the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs for which application had previously been made, on condition of a further sum of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs being subscribed by the general public; it being held that this would afford substantial proof of the soundness of the undertaking and of the confidence of the mercantile community of Calcutta in the ultimate success of the scheme. In spite of the publicity given to this proposal, it is needless to say that no greater success attended it, the conditions being such as to virtually debar the Municipality from the aid proffered. The Commissioners were still unable to increase the amount already subscribed, and the scheme which had been languishing since 1861 hardly appears to have been in any way in a more advanced state towards the close of the year 1864.

It is a point worthy of note that although early in the year 1863 it was considered sufficient to ask for the loan of two lakhs from the Government, that proposed to be raised at the end of the same year from the public was ten lakhs; failing which, the advance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs only was demanded from the Government. Yet in 1864 it was considered by the Government of India—upon what data it is not sufficiently apparent—that less than 20 lakhs would not suffice to effect any permanent improvements in the town and port.

But it is from August 1864 that the great change in the prospects of Port Canning may be said to date.

In that month Act III. of 1864, known as the District Municipal Improvement Act, was extended to Mutlah, and the Municipality was re-constituted under its provisions, the Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs for the time being, becoming Ex-Officio Chairman of the new Board of Commissioners, while Mr. Ferdinand Schiller, of the firm of Messrs. Borradaile, Schiller, and Company, was offered, and accepted the office of Vice-Chairman, which was

then an honorary and not a salaried appointment. Under Section 5 of Act III. of 1864, the property, vested in the former Municipal Committee under Act XXVI. of 1850, became vested in the Municipal Commissioners appointed under this Act: but otherwise no important changes were immediately involved.

Shortly after his appointment as Vice-Chairman to the Municipal Committee, Mr. Schiller, in his individual capacity, addressed a letter to the Chairman of that Board, stating that it was his intention to form at an early date a Company for the purpose of carrying out certain public works in connection with Port Canning, which would materially promote its speedy development. On this ground he solicited that certain concessions should be granted to him by the Municipality, and engaged, in the event of their being so ceded, to undertake the excavation of a dock for country-boats, and further to subscribe Rs. 2,50,000 to the Municipal Debenture Loan at Rs. 15 per cent. discount, the rate at which it was still open to public subscription, on condition, however, that it should at once be closed.

The proposal made by Mr. Schiller in November was subsequently, it appears, somewhat modified by that gentleman in the following month, his principal demands in the first instance having been as follows:—

1. The gift in free-hold of 100 acres (300 beegahs) of ground in the centre of the town.
2. The exclusive right of constructing tramways required by the Municipality from time to time.
3. The conservancy of the river bank (facing the Mutlah Strand Road) with the right to levy such taxes in connection with it as the Commissioners would sanction, and the power to provide landing accommodation.

The concessions above proposed were of course made subject to Mr. Schiller's complying with the self-imposed conditions which we have already enumerated.

The subsequent modifications to which we have also referred were principally—

1st.—That the right of constructing wharves, jetties, and tramways throughout the town and port should be limited to a term of 50 years.

2nd.—That a division should be made in the revenue receivable therefrom; and that, after allowing a reasonable sum for current expenditure and interest at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum upon the capital invested, the balance should be

divided in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third between the constructors of the works and the Municipality respectively.

3rd.—That on the expiry of the 50 years, the concession should revert to the Municipality, should its cancelment be claimed on payment of the actual expenditure or cost price of the works.

4th.—That the right and free use of the river bank between the Strand Road and low water mark should be conceded, and the erection of open store-sheds permitted, the Municipality reserving to itself the right to first reserve and select passenger ghauts.

5th.—That the Municipality should reserve the power of refusing permission to any works about to be undertaken, but that they should have no power to compel such to be undertaken as would not promise a return of a minimum profit of 10 per cent. on the outlay necessary.

6th.—That the Municipality should retain the right of fixing every ten years the minimum charge (one shilling per ton) leviable upon shipping visiting the port—on such a scale, however, that the minimum return on capital invested should be not less than 10 per cent per annum.

7th.—That the construction of trainways be confined in the first instance to connecting shipping with the more important trade centres within the town, their working to be confided entirely to the contractors or their assignees, and such rates to be charged as would yield a minimum profit of 5 per cent. per annum net on the capital invested.

It was also stipulated that on the concessionaire or his assignees refusing to undertake the construction of any such lines, they might be undertaken at discretion by the Municipality by means of such agency as they might see fit, provided that if given to others, it should not be upon better terms than those offered to the present concessionaire. The 100 acres of ground demanded were asked as free-hold in perpetuity, and the offer was made conditional on its acceptance within six months. A legal document embodying the concessions asked for was to be given on payment of five lakhs of rupees to the bankers of the concessionaire or his assignees for this purpose, in addition to the two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees which it was agreed should be subscribed to the Municipal Debenture Loan.

In the crippled state of their finances, these overtures were most favorably received by the Commissioners. A Sub-Com-

mittee was at once formed to consider the proposals of Mr. Schiller, and the result of their deliberations was the adoption of his offer with some slight modifications, subject of course to the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. In January 1865, the report of the Sub-Committee having first been approved and adopted at a general meeting of the Commissioners, and agreed to by Mr. Schiller himself, was forwarded for the approval of the Government of Bengal: and it may not be out of place to quote from the letter of the Chairman to the Commissioners (Mr. H. A. Cockerell) his views in forwarding the proposal which he accompanied with a strong recommendation for its favorable consideration, these views being probably those held at the time by a large number of persons in Calcutta, both among the official and non-official sections of the community.

The importance of Port Canning as an auxiliary to that of Calcutta is now generally acknowledged both by the Government and the commercial community of Calcutta, but a difference of opinion exists as to where the capital is to come from to carry out works of primary necessity to the very existence of the town of Canning, which, without drainage, with but few roads, with imperfect means of communication, without jetties, and other landing facilities, is not in a position to attract shipping to the port, or an expenditure of capital on the town. •

"The Commissioners have endeavoured, by opening a loan, to raise capital to carry out works of the most urgent importance, but, owing to various causes, have failed in obtaining the amount they required. An application for assistance was made to the Government of Bengal, but the conditions imposed by the Government of India, in Colonel Strachey's letter of the 14th July 1864, virtually debar the Municipality from the aid offered.

"Mr. Schiller, the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality, whose interest in Port Canning is known to the Government of Bengal, has now come forward and offered, on certain conditions, to carry out extensive works of the utmost utility to the port, and in addition to subscribe a considerable sum to the Municipal Loan. The conditions agreed on between this gentleman and the Commissioners are stated at length in the enclosed draft, and cannot, in the opinion of the Commissioners, be considered otherwise than favorable to the Municipality. The Commissioners mortgage two remote sources of income, in the development of which it is not probable that they would be

“able to expend any considerable amount of capital for some years to come; but in return for these concessions they obtain an immediate subscription of £25,000 to the Municipal Loan, and the prospect of sharing in the profit of the undertakings executed by Mr. Schiller when the returns exceed a certain percentage on the capital expended. The Commissioners have reserved to themselves the right of purchasing the works after the lapse of the terms of years for which the concessions are granted.

“The execution of such works as those proposed by Mr. Schiller will tend to an enhancement in value of the landed property in the town, and will enable the Commissioners hereafter to levy with advantage the taxes they are empowered to impose under the District Municipal Improvement Act III. of 1864.

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“In conclusion, I beg to urge strongly on the Government the acceptance of the proposed concessions, as offering the only means of carrying out certain great public works of the most immediate necessity, and of relieving the Municipality of a heavy expenditure, which their funds are quite inadequate to meet, whilst at the same time they place at the disposal of the Municipality for those works, the execution of which more immediately devolves on it, a considerable sum of money which it is not likely to obtain from any other source. I have no doubt that the execution of such works as those proposed, by a powerful Joint Stock Company, will not fail to attract capital to the town, and, whilst I hope giving a fair profit to those interested in the scheme, will tend to increase the prosperity of Canning, to foster a rising port, and, by so doing, prove of the utmost importance to the daily increasing commerce of the whole of Lower Bengal.

The draft deed of concessions, thus submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, was fully approved by that officer, who duly sanctioned their acceptance by the Commissioners, in the following terms:—

“His Honor thinks that this scheme affords a fair and reasonable prospect of the port of Canning being placed at once in a satisfactory condition, and it gets over the difficulties as to funds for the public works necessary to the establishment of the port, which have hitherto retarded its progress; and the Lieutenant-Governor sees no other prospect at present of doing what is requisite.

"These concessions, which the Commissioners propose to make, seem altogether unobjectionable, and not in any way incommensurate with the benefits which the Commissioners will derive in return.

"It will be necessary to provide that if the docks and other works are not completed within two years, or such further period as may be allowed in extension by the Commissioners, or if at any time the land is diverted to purposes other than those for which it is granted, it shall lapse to the Commissioners.

"When the Commissioners' right to re-purchase the docks comes to be considered, the value of the land on which the docks are situated should be omitted from the account."

The concessions finally determined on, we shall hereafter have occasion to quote.

It is extremely difficult to understand under what circumstances, at this period of the proceedings, the provisions of Section 23 of Act III. of 1864 were overlooked, for it is but too evident that they were so. The Section quoted runs thus:—

"No Municipal Commissioner or servant of the Commissioners shall be interested directly or indirectly in any contract made with the Commissioners; and if any such person shall be so interested, he shall thereby become incapable of continuing in office or in employment, and shall be liable to a fine of 500 Rupees: provided always that no person, by being a shareholder in, or member of, any Incorporated or Registered Company, shall be disqualified from acting as a Commissioner by reason of any contract entered into between such Company and the Commissioners.

"Nevertheless, it shall not be lawful for such shareholder or member to act as a Commissioner in any matter relating to any contract entered into between the Commissioners and that Company."

It is not our intention to enter here at length upon the irregularity we have noticed. That the concessionaire was a Commissioner and Vice-Chairman of the Board at the time both of his application for the concessions and of their eventual grant to him, there can be no question.

It has been argued that it was at the time a matter of public notoriety that a Company was in course of formation to whom the concessionaire proposed to assign his concessions if he had not already so assigned them: but we see reason to doubt whether in this instance such a reply would be admissible. It was with



Mr. Schiller and not with the Company that the Commissioners were then in treaty, and we are on the whole inclined to think, though we would speak with diffidence upon a point upon which it would be rash to pronounce a positive judgment without a much longer and closer investigation, that the only possible plea which could be urged in this case to justify the irregularity would be the fact that the Commissioners as a body were to be admitted to participate in a share of the profits which, it was anticipated, would accrue were they in excess of a certain fixed ratio, and which was determined in advance in the body of the deed of concessions, *caveat emptor*.

The sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor having been obtained to the deed of concessions to Mr. Schiller, it was signed at a general meeting of the Commissioners, held on the 14 March 1865, three of the five Commissioners then present at the meeting being also at the time Directors of the new Port Canning Company. The concessionaire was also present, and duly executed the deed on his own behalf, and in his individual capacity.

A further irregularity in the proceedings is here apparent, which we cannot pass over without notice. In consequence of the formal conveyance from the Government to the Commissioners themselves not having been executed at the time or until the 6th September following, it became necessary to remedy this anomaly and to re-execute this deed in favour of the concessionaire, the deed now in force, consequently, bears a much later date, *viz.*, 3rd November 1865.

It further appears that the deed of conveyance of the land for the dock to Mr. Schiller was executed on the previous day (2nd November), but another deed of re-conveyance of the same from the concessionaire to the Port Canning Company for the nominal sum of ten rupees, and to which the Chairman of the Municipal Board was made a party, was executed on the day following. This conveyance to the original concessionaire, we observe, had been stipulated for both in the original and final deeds of concessions executed.

Again, although the payment of the 2½ lakhs of rupees promised by the concessionaire was not made to the Municipal Commissioners by him, but by a cheque drawn by two of the Directors of the Port Canning Company, and the receipt for the same was granted to that Company, and not to the concessionaire, no attention appears at the time to have been drawn to this informality, and no exception to have been taken to an irregularity which should certainly not have passed with-

out comment. We should not omit to note that it is for those concessions that Mr. Schiller (it is asserted by the present Directors of the Port Canning Company) received no less a sum than Rs. 3,60,000. To this point, we learn from the correspondence before us, that some importance has been attached by the present Direction of the Port Canning Company, who are desirous of obtaining a re-execution of this deed of concessions in favour of the Company on the ground of the payment having been made by the Company, and not by the concessionaire; but we believe this will prove to be eventually erroneous, for, as we have already shown, the Directors for the time being were fully cognizant of the fact that the original deed of concessions was granted to Mr. Schiller as concessionaire, and whatever may have been the arrangements between the Company and that gentleman, there can be no question but that it was distinctly contemplated both by the Municipality and the Government that the concession should be to him and not to the Company. To argue such a point as this would, we opine, therefore, be mere supererogation.

To return to our subject. The final terms of concession to which we have above alluded, and as submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, were as follows, and the deeds eventually drawn and executed were, with some slight modifications, in accordance with them. As we have given those offered by the concessionaire, a reference to them will at once show in what points it was thought by the Commissioners necessary that alterations and revisions should be made. The variations are, however, not very material, and will easily be detected:—

“ The gift in free-hold of 100 acres of the Commissioners’ property situated in the centre of the town.

“ The concessionaire or his assignees, in consideration of these concessions, to engage to excavate, within a period of two years from the date of these presents, a dock on the said land (for the reception of country-boats) not less than 2,500 feet by 200 feet in width and 10 feet in depth.

“ The Commissioners to grant to the concessionaire or his assignees for 50 years the exclusive right of constructing tramways in such direction as may be required by the Municipality, under the following conditions, namely:—

“ No tramway to be placed on any line of road without the consent of the Commissioners. Should the concessionaire or his assignees, when called upon, refuse to undertake any line of tramway, the Commissioners to have authority to give the

“ execution of the work to any other person or persons on terms  
“ not more favourable than those refused by the concessionaire  
“ or his assignees.

“ That the rates to be charged for passengers or traffic on  
“ tramways constructed by the concessionaire or his assignees  
“ under the above terms, be fixed from time to time by the  
“ Commissioners in concert with the concessionaire or his  
“ assignees. The rates to be so fixed as not to give less than 5 per  
“ cent. per annum on the capital invested (the Commissioners, be  
“ it well understood, not guaranteeing any profits). Whenever  
“ the profits accruing from the above tramway, after allowing a  
“ fair and equitable charge for maintenance (to be fixed, if  
“ necessary, by arbitration, as hereinafter provided), shall exceed  
“ a return of 8 per cent. on the capital invested, the surplus to  
“ be divided between the Commissioners and the concessionaire  
“ or his assignees in the proportion of one-third to the former  
“ and two-thirds to the latter. At the expiration of 50 years,  
“ the Municipality to have the right of purchasing the materials,  
“ stock, and machinery of the above tramway at the cost at  
“ which the said works, machinery, and stock, might be replaced,  
“ provided such value be not less than the proved original cost  
“ of the works, stock, and machinery then in existence, to be  
“ decided in case of dispute by arbitration, as hereinafter  
“ provided.

“ The concessionaire or his assignees to have no right under  
“ the above concessions to obstruct or impede the ordinary  
“ traffic on the roads of the Municipality.

“ No locomotive engine to be used on any of the above tram-  
“ ways without the sanction of the Commissioners.

“ The Commissioners to have the power to fix what portion  
“ of the road shall be occupied by the tramway.

“ The concessionaire or his assignees bind themselves to un-  
“ dertake for 50 years the conservation and protection of the  
“ river bank, along the entire length of the Commissioners’  
“ property facing the Mutlah River, guaranteeing an equal width  
“ of fore-shore with that existing at the time of concession, in  
“ consideration of which the Commissioners grant to the con-  
“ cessionaire or his assignees the right of constructing wharves,  
“ jetties, and such landing and shipping facilities as may be  
“ determined on by the concessionaire or his assignees under  
“ sanction of the Municipal Commissioners. The above conces-  
“ sions not to be considered to apply to the right of the Calcutta  
“ and South-Eastern Railway Company to make such use of

“ their present jetties and landing facilities as they may think proper.

“ No work to be undertaken by the concessionaire or his assignees without the approval of the Commissioners.

“ The Commissioners to have the right of fixing, from time to time, the maximum charges to be levied on all goods passing over the fore-shore, jetties, and wharves of the concessionaire or his assignees.

“ The Commissioners to have the right of fixing what places along the fore-shore, and what breadth of land shall be reserved for public landing and bathing ghauts, such ghauts to be public highways exempt from all toll by the concessionaire or his assignees, but not to be used as ghauts for landing goods, merchandise, &c.

“ Whenever the profits accruing from the above works, after allowing fair and equitable charge for maintenance (to be fixed, if necessary, by arbitration, as hereinafter provided), shall exceed a return of 10 per cent. upon the capital invested, the surplus to be divided between the Commissioners and the concessionaire or his assignees in the proportion of one-third to the former and two-thirds to the latter.

“ At the expiration of 50 years, the Municipality to have the right of purchasing the completed works and their appurtenances at the cost at which the said works, machinery, and stock, might be replaced and re-constructed, such value being not less than the proved original cost of the works, stock, and machinery then in existence, to be decided in case of dispute by arbitration, as hereinafter provided for. But should the Commissioners at the expiry of the said period of 50 years not be prepared to purchase from the concessionaire or his assignees, as aforesaid, then the concessionaire to be entitled to an extension of the term for 25 years more on the condition of these presents.

“ The concessionaire or his assignees engage to subscribe, on the receipt of the document granting these concessions, or within three months from that date, £25,000 to the Municipal Debenture Loan, at 15 per cent. discount, on the condition that it be closed at present.

“ The concessionaire or his assignees also undertake to pay £50,000 into his or their banker previous to the receipt of the legal document embodying these concessions.

“ Lastly, the Commissioners and the concessionaire or his assignees mutually consent, in the event of any dispute arising as to the interpretation or settlement of the foregoing agree-

“ment or any portion thereof, to refer the same to the decision  
“of two arbitrators to be chosen by the said parties thereto, and  
“in the event of their not agreeing, then the Government of Bengal to be solicited to appoint a third arbitrator or referee,  
“whose decision shall be final.

In subscribing to the Municipal Debenture Loan to the extent of two and a half lakhs of rupees in March 1865, an application was made by Messrs. Borradaile, Schiller, and Company, on behalf of the Port Canning Company, of which they had been appointed Secretaries and Treasurers, to commute the same under the original terms of the loan (Article 5) for land in the town of Canning. The lots selected were principally those adjacent to the proposed new dock, and such other lots near to the Railway or in other desirable situations belonging to the Commissioners, as would be equivalent to the amount of loan subscribed by the Port Canning Company. Those specially selected appear to have been Lots 148 to 153, 162 to 164, 83 and 84, 199 to 233, and 169, representing in value Rs. 2,04,928 of the loan.

And here we cannot refrain from confessing our hearty disapprobation to the carelessness so frequently incurred by the Commissioners in their dealings with the Company. The Commissioners do not appear to have replied to this offer, but would seem from their subsequent proceedings, to have considered the lots applied for as transferred, and at the disposal of the Company. The leases were not, it seems, ever completed; nor were the Debentures held by the Company returned—an omission, of which it is difficult to provide an explanation. It was not until September of the same year that a letter was addressed to the Port Canning Company by the Municipal Board, calling attention to these facts, and intimating that, under the circumstances, the Commissioners could not be held liable for any interest which might accrue on the amount of loan represented by these lots, and that they would look to the Company in future for payment of the rental due upon them.

The Company appear also to have been requested to select other lots, in order to make up the redemption of the entire sum subscribed by them to the loan, and notice was given that the Commissioners repudiated all liability to pay interest on the amount subscribed by the Canning Company, or, in fact, to re-pay the loan, except in grants of lands as applied for by the Company, which, we have omitted to state, had, under the original terms of the Debenture Loan, the right of prior selection

of the lots secured to them, owing to their having been the first applicants for it.

Under an agreement made with Mr. Schiller, however, it was arranged that the exchange for land should be deferred until the due date of the Debentures, thus involving the payment of interest by the Municipality to the Port Canning Company, which was to be met by a quit-rent payable upon the lots selected, and equivalent to the interest due upon the Debentures, until the redemption into freehold tenure should be completed. In accordance with this proposal, 41 lots in all were reserved for the Company by the Commissioners: 17 to the south and 24 to the north of the Railway station, their value being deemed by the Commissioners equivalent to Rs. 3,05,407 of the loan, calculated at Rs. 1,200 per beegah, freehold. The position of the Commissioners, therefore, in regard to this transaction is briefly this:—

The Debentures being transferable by endorsement, their transfer to other holders would entitle purchasers or mortgagees to claim in full both principal and interest from the Commissioners, who would merely retain a claim against the Company for the amount. The completion of the contract was, therefore, of so much importance, that, if necessary, even legal proceedings to enforce the fulfilment of its engagement by the Company should undoubtedly long since have been instituted.

Numerous other applications, it appears, were also at the time made by Debenture-holders to commute the Debentures held by them for land in the town. Of these, freehold tenures to the extent of Rs. 59,400, and leasehold to the extent of Rs. 28,200, have been commuted by the Commissioners: but this is all; and of the total issue of the loan Rs. 4,98,500, a balance of Rs. 4,10,900 yet remains on the hands of the Commissioners, applications to commute to the extent of Rs. 2,87,880 having been allowed to remain thus undisposed of, many of which it will now be impossible to enforce; whereas, had the most ordinary care been evinced, but Rs. 1,23,020 of the loan would have remained to be met at due date.

The Municipal Debenture Loan having, upon the completion of the arrangements with Mr. Schiller, been closed, as stipulated in March 1865, at about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of rupees, the Commissioners, in submitting their annual estimate to Government for the year 1866, again found themselves without funds to meet future expenditure, and again applied to the Government for the further sum of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of rupees to raise their loan to the ori-

ginal amount for which it was opened, on the ground that the condition stipulated by the Government before mentioned had been practically complied with by the public and mercantile community having subscribed upwards of 60 lakhs to the Port Canning Company for similar purposes. This application was attended with success, and the Government of India promised to advance the money required from time to time without interest, on the security of the Commissioners' property, re-payable of course within five years. The transaction was duly completed in May 1866.

Having now fairly launched the Municipal Commission, we shall proceed to consider generally the advantages which have resulted from its introduction, the good effected by its agency, the expenditure of the funds placed at its disposal, and various other subjects in direct connection with it.

Judging from the evidence before us, we find little cause for satisfaction at the progress made in the advancement of the interests of the port or for congratulation in the permanent advantages conferred on the town; and we are inclined to pronounce that such an institution was not at the time needed, and should not have been introduced without more mature consideration. Whether, however, the Municipality should now be abolished or not, is a different question.

It is necessary to remember that the world is tolerably full of institutions, which ought never to have been set up, yet which, having once been so, ought not to be rudely pulled down, and that it is often wise in practice to be content with the mitigation of an abuse of which, were we to look at it in the abstract, we might be impatient to recommend the demolition.

The best things may be misused, and we think this has been so in the case of Municipalities in Bengal; but were we to abolish all institutions misapplied, all customs warped from their true aim, what a fragment of society should we retain! The power of a Municipality for good or evil is undoubtedly very great, and we believe that with improved laws, but above all with sounder supervision, such bodies may yet become of great service to this country, developing, as they necessarily must, the faculty of self-government said to be inherent in all men, and requiring merely cultivation and training. But we cannot but regret that the Government after having, as we have shown, repeatedly refused to take part in the undertaking of Port Canning, should have eventually been induced to give way. We fully admit that there are many unremunerative works of public

benefit which would never be undertaken by private enterprise. No body of men can be expected to invest their money in any undertaking, but from an expectation that the result will be ultimately profitable to themselves ; and as works are only profitable, for which the public are willing to pay, a direct and obvious connexion is established between the motive for the work and its utility, which can never be the case where Government is concerned, and where no return is looked for.

Let us first examine the funds which have been at the disposal of the Commissioners from time to time throughout the period under review, and endeavour to ascertain, from such information as has been published, which we must admit is extremely scanty and unsatisfactory, upon what they have been expended. In this there is some difficulty : and though we have had access to some valuable sources of information upon this and other points, which have not as yet been opened to the general public, we cannot but admit the feeling that the real history of Port Canning is but imperfectly known.

The intimate connection of the Commissioners with the Port Canning Company, an association which the former have had but too much subsequent occasion to regret, cannot but be considered as having been most prejudicial to the interests of the town, resulting as it has in mal-administration and false economy ; and in justice to Mr. Bainbridge, who succeeded Mr. Cockerell as *Ex-Officio* Chairman of the Municipal Board, we must state that it was he who first fully recognized the importance of the evil, and gave to it a most prominent place in his report to Government for the year 1865-66, in the words which we quote :—" I must, more especially as I am leaving office, draw attention to the evils of the joint system hitherto adopted between the Municipal Commissioners and the Port Canning Company. It is true their ultimate object is identical, but their immediate interests very frequently are not connected, and often antagonistic. \* \* I think that the results shown in this report prove that the system has been mistaken, and not economical." Mr. Bainbridge's loss to the Municipality appears to have been a serious one, as he personally took great interest in the advancement of the port, and devoted to it both time and energy, which in the multiplicity of other duties it is extremely difficult for the Magistrate of so important a district as the 24-Pergunnahs to spare.

The proceedings of the Commissioners as a Board, we cannot refrain from remarking, have been characterized throughout by a



marked vacillation of purpose. The connection of the Commissioners with the Port Canning Company most undoubtedly exercised, as we have shown, great influence over their actions, and must, to a certain extent, have fettered their movements : but even this would fail to explain their irresolution in several important matters calling for prompt and decisive action on their part. Afraid of disobliging the Port Canning Company, suspicious of the censure of the local press, apprehensive of being thought factious, if opposing expenditure proposed by their Executive, and of being thought prodigal and reckless in sanctioning it, afraid of every thing, but most of being known to be afraid of every thing, they appear to have wavered, faltered, and struggled on undecided as to the soundness of their own opinions and doubtful of accepting those of others.

Let us proceed to consider the funds at the disposal of the Commissioners for the years 1864-65, 1865-66, 1866-67, and 1867-68, as given in the Annual Administration Reports for these years, submitted to Government by the Chairman of the Board. The periods covered are of course the respective official years ; in the case of the last mentioned year, however, the report comprises 11 months only. Glancing hastily over the reports of progress shown in the realization of income, one would be apt to be misled by the figures given, as denoting the progressive income of each year. A closer examination discloses more correctly the actual results attained. We give a concise abstract of the receipts of each year in the annexed tabular statement, from which it will be seen that the Municipality has had at its disposal during the four years under review no less a sum than Rs. 8,84,875, including both the Government loan (4 lakhs of which has been paid to the Commissioners) and Rs. 3,72,585, the proceeds realized of the Municipal Debenture Loan :—

	Year 1864-65.	Year 1865-66.	Year 1866-67.	Year 1867-68.	TOTAL.
RECEIPTS.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
As shown by Annual Administration Reports ...	3,51,970	3,32,042	3,65,910	2,43,862	12,93,784
Actual receipts from all sources during the year, (excluding Cash Balances in hand at its commencement)..a	3,09,259	60,351	3,43,358	1,24,276	8,27,244
Actual income excluding Government and Debenture Loans ...	13,194	39,531	37,858	24,076	1,14,659

On looking more closely into the nature of the receipts we have shown in the columns of actual income, we find several which are undoubtedly susceptible of question, if regarded as sources of income.

These latter have been divided by the reports into two heads, "Land Revenue" and "Miscellaneous," in the proportions given—

	1864-65.	1865-66.	1866-67.	1867-68.	TOTAL.
Land Revenue ...	11,819	16,989	11,729	4,711	45,248
Miscellaneous ...	1,374	22,552	25,138	19,664	68,728

The decrease of Rs. 5,421 in the land revenue of the year 1866-67 is accounted for by the Commissioners by the fact of the redemption of some lots into fee simple having been completed during the year, and to the large balance of uncollected outstandings at its close. The farther falling off in the follow-

ing year is also treated generally as resulting from the same causes, but the damage caused to the crops by the cyclone is urged as a reason for the inability of the ryots to meet their rents on due dates, necessitating an arrangement which will permit of the extension of the period of payments over another year, during which instalments of arrear will be receivable.

The Commissioners, it should be mentioned, have power to resume possession of lots after rent has remained for a certain time unpaid, but they appear to have hesitated to enforce their right to do so, being perhaps doubtful of the advantages of such a step.

The miscellaneous receipts credited in the reports appear on examination to be principally building and security deposits, suspense accounts, refunds and transfers from brick-making and other charges, &c., &c.,—items which can scarcely be considered as legitimate sources of income.

Space, however, will not admit of our going farther into the fallacy of the increase shown in the annual income of the Commissioners up to 1866-67, even if our inclination so served. We have already shown with sufficient clearness the fact that the only receipts of any magnitude have been those from the Government and Debenture Loans, both of which having now been almost exhausted, the Commissioners find themselves in a far worse financial position than at the commencement of their operations, for we note that the present year 1868-69 was commenced with a balance of about Rs. 15,000 only in hand and a credit of Rs. 50,000, the fifth and last instalment payable by the Government of India of the promised loan of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of Rupees. It is apparent, moreover, that the petty receipts from land revenue and other sources have steadily declined; that the value of local property has very largely deteriorated; and that, owing to the neglect of the Commissioners to consummate the arrangement under which the commutation of Debentures for land in the town had been agreed upon, a very large number of these, as we have shown, still remain upon their hands to be redeemed at maturity, and at a time when the land has merely a nominal value, and would not of course be accepted in commutation, the more so that having been for five years only, the date of maturity of the majority of the Debentures is not distant. Whether in the face of these facts the lavish scale of expenditure incurred has been justifiable is a point which we leave to our readers. Nor do we propose to enter farther here into the financial prospects of future years, dependent as they are possibly on

so many extraneous considerations. So long as the advances have lasted, there appears to have been little thought of the future, and it is only when, after hoping against hope, the Commissioners are eventually brought fairly face to face with the difficulties of their position by the complete exhaustion of their finances, that they reluctantly recognize the necessity for a reduction of a profitless expenditure of money, for which they are paying at the rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in interest, and which is absolutely yielding no return whatsoever.

But let us proceed to consider the works to which these funds have been devoted, and the results achieved in the reclamation and improvement of Port Canning by all this enormous outlay. In doing so, we are forced to admit, though not without regret, that its similitude in many respects to Mr. Dickens's humorous description of Eden in "*Martin Chuzzlewit*," recurs frequently and most vividly to our memory.

The gross expenditure of the past four years has amounted to Rs. 8,65,037, or an average of about Rs. 2,16,200 per annum. It has not, however, been equally distributed, the amount spent each year having been as follows :—

Year 1864-65 ...	...	...	Rs. 80,289
„ 1865-66...	...	...	„ 3,09,489
„ 1866-67...	...	...	„ 2,46,324
„ 1867-68...	• ...	...	„ 2,28,933

We give an abstract of the expenditure according to its classification in the annual reports :—

	Year 1864-65.	Year 1865-66.	Year 1866-67.	Year 1867-68.	TOTAL.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
General Charges ...	11,213	34,093	43,298	31,975	1,20,579
Expenses of Collection..	2,439	2,413	261	240	5,353
Medical Charges ...	532	1,999	7,037	3,696	13,258
Interest and Discount...	3,150	17,800	23,065	10,213	54,228
Expenses on Works ...	55,376	2,20,049	1,40,064	1,37,086	5,52,575
Miscellaneous ...	7,576	33,138	31,165	43,845	1,15,724
Police ...	...	...	1,432	7,874	3,306

Accepting the above as correct, let us look more closely into the larger items of General charges, Works, and Miscellaneous, which have absorbed the larger share of the expenditure, omit-

ting the minor and less important items, and merely remarking that no less a sum than Rs. 54,228 has been already paid in interest and discount by the Commissioners for the use of the money thus expended during the past four years. We find the term "General charges" comprises only the salary of the Chairman's Office Establishment, Vice-Chairman, and Engineer, with the ordinary office miscellaneous contingencies. Yet the charges under this head alone exceed an average of Rs. 30,000 per annum, on an average yearly expenditure of Rs. 2,76,000. This would certainly appear an excessive percentage upon the outlay on the works that have been executed.

These appear to have been principally roads, drainage, bunds, embankments, and tanks, for we do not find that any large permanent buildings have been erected.

In the matter of roads, the late cyclone is said to have much to answer for, the metal laid on some of them having been, it is asserted, washed away by the storm-wave which literally swept over Port Canning. Twenty miles of road had been laid out, of which about seven have been metalled and completed.

It is difficult, from the manner in which the accounts are compiled, to frame any idea of the cost of this work; but we note that though during the past year the metalling was not extended to any new roads, the cost, therefore, of repairing those existing, is shown during the year to have amounted to no less than Rs. 64,182, or nearly Rs. 10,000 per mile. Taking the rough figures given, however, as correct, the expenditure on these roads, including the cost of brick-making, has been upwards of Rs. 2,05,000. This does not include the stock and store account of the Engineer, drainage of roads, planting of trees, or other such charges.

Nor is the necessity for these roads apparent. It is not asserted that there ever has been any traffic upon them, and the majority of them terminate abruptly in the jungle, and each might with justice be compared to the straight road of world-wide celebrity as leading only to destruction—the only use hitherto made of them having apparently been by the Municipal servants themselves in the conveyance of metal over one road for the repairs of another.

Nor has the drainage of the town been less expensive; for we find that Rs. 1,14,675 has been debited to this head alone. As the success of a scheme is ordinarily tested in its results, it is only fair to give publicity to the proof cited by the Commissioners of the efficacy of their system, *viz.*, that it took

but three days to carry off the water left in the last cyclone. This, it is considered, will speak for itself.

The protection of the Railway and Bidiadhurry fore-shores, as well as of the Canning and Stanley Strands, appear to have been a fertile subject of dissensions from the commencement, between the Municipality and the Port Canning Company.

The following paragraph from the report, dated June 1866, of the Engineer of the Municipality, will explain the reluctance evinced by the Municipality and the Port Canning Company in assuming the responsibility of protection as regards the Mutlah and Bidiadhurry Banks:—"The bank of the Mutlah River is in grave danger, being the concave side of a curve, and formed of soft silt deposit, with near river depths of 8 to 11 fathoms at low water; and the rise and fall of the tide varying from 11 to 19 feet, there is a strong eddy action, and in its season, the Monsoon wind, blowing over a broad expanse of water, causes much additional detriment. Some portions of the Bidiadhurry Bank are also much under attack of the river, the bunds along the Mollee Khal and Bidiadhurry occasionally give way, especially during the rainy season." On the Stanley Strand, particularly, much money has been expended, partly owing to the admittedly injudicious excavation of earth by the Commissioners, and partly on account of extensive slips which have from time to time taken place.

During the rains of 1865, no less than 48,92,025 cubic feet of earth-work are said to have been executed on this account alone. Leases of the lots on this strand were allotted and calculated to yield a rental of upwards of Rs. 11,000 per annum, but the Commissioners failed to give possession, owing to the erosion of the bank of the river and other causes.

By the terms of the Deed of Concessions, the Port Canning Company had undertaken the protection of the fore-shore of the Mutlah River. It happens that a portion of this is contiguous to the premises of the Railway Company, in which, and the adjoining portion, a land-slip occurred in May 1866. With their usual hesitation, the Commissioners appear to have first taken the opinion of the Advocate-General as to the responsibility of the Port Canning Company for the protection of the bank, (which was repudiated by that Company, who erroneously held that the deed, if so interpreted, was signed under such a mistake of fact as would entitle them to relief in a Court of Equity,) and then, in spite of that opinion, which was entirely in their favour, to have effected a *compromise* with the Company, under which the Commissioners undertook themselves to carry

out protective measures, the Company agreeing, if this were first done, to take over that portion of the fore-shore for the future. These arrangements were all completed in April 1867, and the bank was to have been handed over in October, but again delay occurred resulting in most serious consequences, although 15 boats were sunk with 86 cwt. of chain and 3,240 tons of stone-ballast, and an expenditure incurred by the Board of upwards of Rs. 17,000; the repairs were not completed, nor had the transfer of the charge been effected when the cyclone of the 1st November intervened, carrying away the Railway jetty, and undermining and weakening the whole bank. In March of the present year another slip took place, and the Commissioners, to prevent further erosion, again attempted to repair this at a cost of Rs. 1,800. It is now stated that the least possible farther outlay will be Rs. 7,000 to be in any way effective; and the question of the assumption by the Company of a liability, which was properly theirs throughout, has been postponed *sine die*. Comment upon the supineness evinced in this matter would be superfluous. Nearly Rs. 19,000 have literally been thus thrown into the river.

It has subsequently been necessary, in consequence of the erosion of the bank, to retire the Railway premises some distance, and an objection has been raised by the Port Canning Company to the renewal of the Railway jetty, but this question appears to be also in abeyance, the Railway having now been taken over by the Government.

In the Bidiadhurry fore-shore the Commissioners have also been unfortunate, and it is estimated that the damage caused by the late cyclone will necessitate a further outlay of some Rs. 17,000 upon it. The amount already expended upon this fore-shore by the Commissioners has been Rs. 11,238, yet they distinctly deny, in a recent report to Government, that they are in any way legally responsible for its maintenance, and urge, in extenuation of the outlay, that the expenditure has only been incurred on account of the importance of this fore-shore to the Municipality. On the other hand, it is alleged by the Port Canning Company that the neglect of the Commissioners to protect this fore-shore most seriously endangers the safety of their boat-dock, in which 3 lakhs of Rupees have already been sunk. The question of liability not having been definitely disposed of, may possibly occasion future trouble.

Taking only the rough figures given in the reports, we find that about Rs. 79,000 in all has been laid out in stoueballast, binding, and the protection of the river banks.

The judiciousness of such an outlay, principally upon works which, as we have shewn, the Commissioners deny their responsibility to maintain, may be fairly questioned, but space will not admit of our pursuing this branch of the subject further.

A not inconsiderable outlay has been made upon the digging and clearing of tanks. On this item alone nearly Rs. 68,000 has been spent, not including the cost of bringing fresh water from Calcutta (some Rs. 3,000 more). In lieu of experimenting with one tank, the Commissioners appear to have in the first year commenced with six, none of which, if we understand the annual report of 1867-68 rightly, are fit for use. It is hoped that two may possibly become fresh during the present rains; but with regard to the others, the Commissioners are not so hopeful. Their Chairman writes of them—"Other tanks have been pumped, but owing to the existence of salt springs, it is feared that, without great outlay, which the Commissioners cannot afford, it will not be possible to render the water fit for annual use."

The miscellaneous expenditure shewn is of too heterogeneous a nature to admit of our attempting to unravel or separate its items. The dealing with many threads even where the purpose is disentanglement is but too likely to lead to the opposite result. Our reason, therefore, for declining the task is not obscure, and we would refer such of our readers as may be desirous of farther information to the original reports.

And now, having reviewed the expenditure, what are the results achieved?—a few roads with little or no traffic, of which the annual cost of repair would absorb, it seems, more than the entire income of the Commissioners; some tanks, the water of which is declared unfit for animal use; fore-shores and embankments, of which the responsibility has been assumed, and upon which all the money hitherto expended has but served to show how much remains to be done, and how little has been really effected at how large a cost; a resident population, numbering 30 Europeans only, and consisting of the servants of the Municipality and the Port Canning Company, without shipping, with arrears of rent uncollected, and liabilities incurred upon Debentures, which will shortly reach maturity, and which annually demand the payment of a considerable sum in interest; surrounded by jungle which requires to be kept down; with a high rate of labor, defective drainage, and a reputation for insalubrity; with prospects of litigation, rarely in-



expensive, with heavy responsibilities and an all but exhausted exchequer—we see little cause for congratulating the Administration on the result of its labors.

We are fully prepared to admit that it has laboured under many disadvantages. The cyclones of 1864 and 1867, with their attendant losses; the wreck of the *Eagle Speed* near Hali-day's Island, (after which the late Lieutenant-Governor, one of the most active promoters of the interests of Canning, directed that the port should not be used for emigration purposes,\*) and the want of confidence in the river inspired by this loss; the injudicious increase in the traffic rates of the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway at a most critical time; the loss of the Government surveying schooner *Charlotte*, which had been lent for the survey of the river, together with the whole of her survey charts completed at considerable cost; the internecine quarrels of the Directors of the Port Canning Company: all have tended in a greater or less degree to impede the advancement of the interests of the town, and to retard the progress of Canning as a port; yet we cannot absolve the Commissioners from blame in the face of such facts as we have recorded. And whether the correctness of the inferences we have drawn be admitted or not by the majority of our readers, we cannot but believe that we shall have succeeded in establishing in their minds the fact already so patent to our own, that the time has come for the consideration and review of the policy upon which the whole future of this port will depend, and that whether it be ultimately determined to grant or to withhold the support and influence of Government, a comprehensive view of the question should be taken in all its bearings without longer delay, and a definite policy be determined on.

The squandering of such large sums of public money in the Municipality, the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway, and the Marine Department, upon works of the utility of which we have given a fair sample, whilst waiting in the vain hope that the port will develop itself, is as unjust to the port as to the public; and whether it be deemed expedient to abandon entirely the scheme, or to foster and force the port, there could be no more fitting time than the present, when the very continuance of the existence of such an institution as its Municipality is at stake, for a review of the past, and the formation of sound and maturely considered plans for the future.

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\* Thirty-nine vessels visited Canning in 1865-66.  
Eight only in 1866-67, and two only in 1867-68.

### ART. III.—PENSION LIST OF THE STAFF CORPS.

1. *General Order, No. 332 of 1861.*
2. *General Orders from 1861 to 1868.*
3. *Remarks on the increase of Field Officers.*
4. *The "Friend of India," July, 1868.*

**M**ORE than seven years ago, a general order, dated the 10th April 1861, was promulgated by the Government of India, in virtue of which the old Indian Service was amalgamated with the Royal Army. The order was carefully drawn up, and was worded, so far as was possible, to prevent misconception. Nevertheless, having regard to the interests of the officers who would come under its operation, the Government were considerate enough to declare that they were prepared to publish, in the *Official Gazette*, replies to any questions which might be preferred by officers who might entertain doubts as to the meaning of any particular paragraph. This indulgence was largely taken advantage of, to the benefit equally of officers and the Government.

Amongst many other points relative to which questions were submitted, not the least important was that which referred to pension on retirement. The 95th paragraph of the general order referred to had expressly laid down, that "officers of Her Majesty's Indian forces joining the Staff Corps will be entitled to pension under the Regulations of the Indian Service." The 93rd paragraph placed those officers, in all essential particulars, "under the new Furlough Regulations of the Indian Army." Now, both the Pension Regulations of the Indian Service and the new Furlough Rules of 1854 contained clauses which permitted officers of the Indian Army to retire on the pension of their rank after twenty-two years' service. Of these twenty-two years, two might have been spent in Europe. It was obvious, therefore, that when they promulgated the general order we have referred to, the Government fully intended that the clause which permitted officers of the Indian Army to retire on the pension of their rank after twenty-two years' service, and known as the "Regulations of 1796," should be made applicable likewise to officers joining the new Staff Corps. So it appeared to officers generally; but so sensitive are the servants of Government on all matters relating to their pensions, that although no doubt was felt as

to the answer, questions on the subject were preferred simultaneously from various quarters.

The answer of the Government was just such as had been expected. It was officially declared that the Regulations of 1796 would be held applicable to officers entering the Staff Corps. This assurance decided the course of very many officers.

It unfortunately happened, however, that the Government of India were not allowed to interpret their own order. The answers which they gave to the various queries submitted, were forwarded for approval to the India House. To the influences paramount in that mansion some of those answers were not acceptable, and, amongst a few others, the reply given to the question regarding the Regulations of 1796 was ordered to be reversed.

The Government remonstrated. The "independent gentlemen who constituted the Supreme Council of India saw what a mine of discontent the reversal of a privilege enjoyed for nearly seventy years would open out in the Army. They foresaw, too, that such a reversal would not even work beneficially for the Government; that an officer, not allowed to retire on the pension of his rank, would stay on for a higher one, thus clogging the superior ranks of the Army. They could not, indeed, foresee the extent to which this would take place, for the East India House had not then passed that other order which has consummated the mischief. But, as a matter of policy, as a matter of justice to officers, they opposed the reversal. They remonstrated most strongly—not once, but at least twice—with the India House, and they were silenced only by a peremptory order never to refer a second time a question upon which a decision had once been given.

To understand the full share which this refusal by the India House of the urgent request of their Government in India has had in bringing about the dead-lock to which we shall presently refer, it will be necessary to mention very briefly the actual conditions regarding pensions. By the rule promulgated in 1861, an officer may retire after twenty years' service in India on £191 per annum, the pension of a Captain; after twenty-four years' service, on £292, the pension of a Major; after twenty-eight years, on £365, the pension of a Lieutenant-Colonel; and after thirty-two years, on £456, the pension of a Colonel. But by the rules promulgated in 1796, and in force for nearly seventy years prior to 1861, he could, after twenty-two years, retire on the pension of the substantive rank he had attained.

Now, in the Staff Corps scheme, promotion was given after a certain number of years' service, calculated on the average of previous promotions. This average would have allowed officers an advantage of two years in claiming all the pensions but the lowest and highest. But it should be remembered that the average only expressed the mean of what had happened in by-gone years. Instances had occurred in which an officer had claimed a Lieutenant-Colonel's pension after twenty-two years' service. Now, even had the Regulations of 1796 been incorporated with the Staff Corps scheme, no officer could have claimed such a pension under twenty-six years' service ; by the hard ruling of the India House he must serve twenty-eight years to obtain it. Granting, then, that the average which formed the basis of the Staff Corps scheme was fair, the refusal to subject the Regulations of 1796 to the same average was logically faulty.

There was another reason, which, though never brought forward, ought, we think, to have weighed with the India House in considering this question. Sir Stafford Northcote is reported to have declared recently in the House of Commons that the retiring pensions of the India Army are sufficiently liberal. We would venture to ask whether he has ever considered what they are. Is it so great a matter that the devotion of the twenty best years of a man's life to service in a tropical climate should be compensated by a miserable pittance of £191 per annum ? When it is considered that military men often fill in the later years of their service some of the most important offices in the country, what are we to say to a rule which regards a pension of one pound sterling a day as the value of twenty-eight years' service ! The fact is that, looking at the varied employments in which the officers of the Indian Army are engaged, they are worse off, as regards pensions, than any body of men in the Indian Service. We see a member of Council distinguished among his contemporaries,—a man of great experience, vast resources, possessing an intimate acquaintance with every subject which he touches, a man who, whether he writes on finance, on strategics, on the science of administration, adds to our knowledge, and sheds lustre on the Government to which he belongs. This member of Council, if he were forced by ill-health to retire, would receive but a pension of £456 a year to compensate him for his great service. The Military Secretary, raised, when a young man, to that high post for his services in the field and on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, would have, under such circum-

stances, to fall back upon £292. The Commissioner of Peshawur, the most important post in India, would not receive more; whilst a pound a day would be considered an equivalent for the great services rendered by the Governor-General's Agent at the Court of Holkar. Compare with these the pensions received by the clerks of the India House, the pensions now proposed for the Uncovenanted Service. Compare the work of each, the climate in which the work of the military officer is performed, and the pension doled out as compensation. Will Sir Stafford Northcote inquire into these cases, and then repeat that the pensions of the military officers are sufficiently liberal?

The fact is that, when those pensions were first proposed, they were sufficiently liberal. It seems, however, always to be forgotten that they date from the last century, that they go back to a period when money was worth at least two and-a-half times more than it is now. The pension of £191 per annum in those days represented about £500 a year of our present money. We may confidently affirm, then, that the Directors who first fixed those pensions would not have been considered sufficiently liberal, if they had fixed the first pension at £80 per annum. Yet that sum represents as nearly as possible the value in the present day of the first pension of £191 per annum granted a century ago. It was probably because at the close of the last century the Directors perceived that the tendency of prices was to rise, that they issued that order of 1796, which the East India House, after prices had so risen as enormously to decrease the value of a pension, has abolished.

This was a circumstance which might, we think, have induced the East India House to take a liberal view of the circumstances of their officers in 1861. It is, however, beside the question we propose to argue, and to which we now return. We have shewn, we trust clearly, that the effect of the abolition of the rules of 1796 on the officers of the Staff Corps has been to force them to remain longer in the service than would otherwise have been the case, and thus, to a certain extent, to clog the higher ranks of the Army. This effect was enhanced by the enforced abolition, about the same time, of the system, by which officers retired from the Army on receipt of a *bonus*. Now, it is well known that the tendency of a long residence in India is to make men cling more and more to the country. The rule, therefore, preventing the retirement which at the time would have been acceptable, on the pension of rank,

compelled men to stay on some years longer, and thus tended to induce them to remain altogether, or in some cases, to wait for their off reckonings.

There were but few officers, however, who, under the old system, could have hoped to receive that valuable addition to their income, or who would have cared to stay out in India till it should fall into their lap. But suddenly the India House opened out to them a golden vision. Having, by their decision in the matter of the Regulations of 1796, compelled many officers to stay on beyond the time they had intended, they all at once offered them a bait of more than £1,000 per annum, provided they would complete thirty-eight years' service. This bait took the shape of the offer of Colonel's allowance (more than £1,000 year with pension) to every Staff Corps officer who should serve twelve years as Lieutenant-Colonel. As that rank is attained after twenty-six years' service, it followed that, lured by this bait, and having no adequate pension available at the time, officers would almost invariably continue to serve to thirty-eight years, drawing in the interval full Indian allowances, and in many cases doing nothing.

We see, now, how the present dead-lock has been caused. By being sparing, when, in their own interest, they should have been liberal; and by being too liberal when there was no occasion for the exercise of liberality, the home authorities have practically prevented all retirements under thirty-two years' service, whilst, by offering to more than double the pension then available, if the officer would but serve six years longer, they induce all, or almost all, to complete a service of thirty-eight years. Is it surprising that under such circumstances the Staff Corps is fast becoming an army of field-officers?

The result, indeed, of this, as it were, compelling all the Staff Corps officers to serve for thirty-eight years, is most startling. We have lately received a printed memorandum on the subject, signed R. R. In this it is stated that on the 31st December last there were 1,034 field-officers in the three Staff Corps, and that eighteen years hence the survivors of these will be in receipt of Colonel's allowances. Allowing a casualty rate of four and-a-half per cent. per annum, the writer shews that the pensions of the survivors will, in 1885, amount to £4,50,000 annually. In addition to these, he points out there are one hundred and forty-four Lieutenant-Colonels in the Cavalry and Infantry, who are entitled to Colonel's allowances after twelve years'

service in their present grade. The pension list for Colonel's allowances alone will thus be ultimately liable for nearly £600,000. At present the entire payment on account of all pensions, including Colonel's allowances, is considerably less than half a million sterling. What will the total amount to, when Colonel's allowances alone swallow up £600,000? But startling as this statement is, we believe it to be short of the truth. There are, too, other contingent expenses which swell enormously the expenses resulting from the policy that has been followed. Let us take, for instance, this fact mentioned by the writer from whom we are quoting:—"There are now," he says, "seventy-five Lieutenant-Colonels and eighty Majors doing general duty and drawing upwards of fourteen lakhs (£1,40,000) per annum." This is a *minimum* number. Since the paper from which we have extracted was penned, the number of field-officers has increased by thirty or forty, of whom a fair proportion are doing general duty. For what purpose are these hundred and sixty or seventy field-officers retained? They are required for no military purpose; they do no service; their enforced idleness makes their presence at a station undesirable. Why, then, we repeat, are they retained? The answer is easy. They have no adequate pension claimable in the present, but a glorious vision looms before them in the future. The Lieutenant-Colonel who, were he to retire now, would have to content himself perforce with £365 per annum, has but to serve eight years longer in any part of the world to which leave may be procurable, and he can claim more than £1,000 annually. Under such circumstances, who will retire? Who will renounce the splendid prospect before him? It would be folly even for the most sickly to give up that extra £600 annual pension, obtainable by a mock service, interspersed by leave of from eight to twelve years!

It is due to the officers of the Indian Army to state that they are not responsible for this state of things. They did not ask for it; they never dreamt that it would be offered them; they even struggled all their might against it. They asked merely that the privilege which they had enjoyed for seventy years might be continued to them. Had that moderate request been granted, and had the Home Government abstained at the same time from holding out to them the temptation of unlimited Colonel's allowances, we should have had a very different spectacle. There would then have been some chance for the Staff Corps. Officers would have had no great object

in remaining on, whilst the pension of rank, attainable after twenty-two, twenty-six, and thirty-one years' service respectively, would have induced a fair proportion of them to make way for younger men.

Before we proceed to indicate how, in our opinion, it may yet be possible, though so late in the day, to provide a remedy for this impending evil, we propose to glance very briefly at the manner in which it affects the Army, the Officer individually, and the State.

First, as to the Army. Nothing is calculated to act more prejudicially to the discipline of an army than the maintenance in its ranks, especially in its higher ranks, of a body of officers whose trade and business it is to do nothing, and, more than that, who have neither the ambition nor the desire to do anything,—who are content to live a life of idleness, drawing their pay, and waiting for the munificent pension, which is obtainable by holding twelve years the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. There can be no spectacle, we affirm, more demoralising than this. What do officers of the Royal Army think of it?—what do the men think of it? It is idle to suppose that the subject is not discussed in the mess-room and the barracks. These doing-duty officers draw pay for doing virtually nothing, whilst the regimental officer, on similar allowances, is forced to work well for his country. A short experience of this life of ease is sufficient to demoralise the officer himself, and there can be little doubt that in very many instances this effect is produced. The main result, then, is this:—that we have a Staff Corps, all the surplus officers of which are in its senior grades; and that the fact of the existence of such a surplus constitutes an evil, the effects of which it is difficult to exaggerate.

So far as the officer is concerned, the main evil inflicted upon him is a loss of self-respect. It is often, indeed, far being his fault that he is unemployed; it is certainly due to no laches on his part that he is prevented from retiring. By abolishing the Regulations of 1796, the Government have forced him to continue in the service, waiting for his higher pension. Yet the actual effect upon him is in itself not less cruel than if it had been intentional. Had the Regulations of 1796 been in force, he would have gone home, we will say, four years ago, on the pension of his rank. But forced to stay on those four years in consequence of the abolition of those Regulations, and having become meanwhile more than ever indianised by the idleness in which they have been passed, he deems it perfectly legitimate



to stay six or eight years longer in order to obtain the extra life-income which he regards as a compensation for the loss of the pension of his rank. Had he left four years ago, he would have retired after twenty six years' service in a tropical clime, comparatively a happy man, to his native land. Forced to stay, he sees himself regarded as an *incubus*; he knows himself to be useless; he falls into that worst of all states,—a state of which an animal love of life, and a determination to live on for his Colonel's allowances, constitute the main elements. He descends, perhaps, often in spite of himself, several steps in the grade of humanity.

We now proceed to discuss the mode in which the State is affected by this system. We have alluded to the fact that in the course of a few years, unless something be done to check it, the expenditure on account of Colonel's allowances will amount to the enormous sum of nearly £6,00,000 annually. We might go further and declare it to be capable of proof that the entire sum payable for pensions will, under the same circumstances, fall little short of £8,00,000 sterling. At present, we believe, it does not much exceed £4,00,000. But this is not all. We would call attention to the extraordinary fact,—a fact so astounding that it will seem to many incredible,—that to enable officers to qualify to increase the pension-list to the extent above indicated, the State continues to pay officers highly for doing nothing. There are now about one hundred and sixty field-officers doing general duty at the three Presidencies at an annual cost to the State of fourteen lakhs of rupees? The State disburses this sum of fourteen lakhs annually, simply and solely to enable those one hundred and sixty officers to become recipients, at periods varying from one to eighteen years, of pensions of more than £1,000 per annum each! This is a simple fact. The officers are not wanted: the State would be all the better for being rid of them. Yet it is content to pay them to stay on for a pension to which all of them, without limitation as to numbers, have a legal right to look forward! Are we not justified in applying to this fact the epithet 'astounding'?

If we look at the matter in another light, it is not less startling—granted that there are one hundred and sixty unemployed field-officers in the three Presidencies, and that of these one-half are Lieutenant-Colonels. Now, if we may judge by the analogy of the times when the Indian Army was officered on the old system, two-fifths of these officers would have retired

on obtaining the pensions of their respective ranks,—the Majors after twenty-two years' service, the Lieutenant-Colonels after twenty-six. We thus have, out of the eighty Majors, thirty-three retiring after twenty-two years' service, and the same number of Lieutenant-Colonels after twenty-six years. Under the present system, those sixty-six officers stay on for their Colonel's allowances of £1,000 per annum. Mark now the difference to Government. Under the present system the thirty-three Majors would serve four years longer in that rank, and twelve in the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; the Lieutenant-Colonels would serve as such for twelve years. Now each Major costs the State annually Rs. 7,690-14-0; each Lieutenant-Colonel, Rs. 9,934-8-0. The calculation would then be as follows:—

	Rs.	A. P.
33 Majors, at Rs. 7,690-14-0, for four years ...	10,15,195	8 0
66 Lieutenant-Colonels, at Rs. 9,934-8-0, for twelve years ...	78,68,124	0 0
Total ...	88,83,319	8 0

Had those officers been allowed to retire on the Regulations of 1796, they would have cost the State during the same period:—

	Rs.	A. P.
33 Majors, at Rs. 2,920, for sixteen years ...	15,41,760	0 0
33 Lieutenant-Colonels, at Rs. 3,650, for twelve years ...	14,45,400	0 0
Total ...	29,87,160	0 0
Cost under the new system ...	88,83,319	8 0
Ditto under the old ...	29,87,160	0 0
Difference ...	58,96,159	8 0

This difference shews the saving to the State which would have accrued on those sixty-six officers had the Regulations of 1796 been in force. It is difficult to calculate casualties, but it is the less necessary because those sixty-six officers represent but a proportion of the number of the total officers of the Army who under those circumstances would have retired. If the Regulations of 1796 had never been interfered with, it is more than probable that the retirements would have

absorbed more than the majority of the doing-duty officers, and that in a few years the class would altogether have disappeared.

We see now clearly in what the policy of 1861—the withdrawal of the time-honoured privilege of retiring upon the pension of rank—has resulted. It has burdened the State with officers for which it can find no employment, and it has enormously increased the expenses of the Army, and, prospectively, of the pension-list. It is solely because officers are, so to speak, compulsorily retained on the effective list, that the 2,200 members of the three Staff Corps cost the State infinitely more than the three thousand officers of the old Army, and this, though the pay of each grade has been reduced. It is because of this that the pension-list will in a few years require the annual payment of nearly a million sterling to meet it. Facts more striking, and in many respects more startling, have seldom been presented to the vision of any Government.

But, it will be said, surely there is a remedy for this alarming evil. It is solely because we consider that the difficulty, if taken in hand at once, may yet be tided over, that we have ventured upon these few remarks. There is one consideration, however, of paramount importance. Whatever is to be done, must be done quickly. Every month's delay will increase the difficulties, and add to the embarrassment, of the Government. The evil must be met boldly, promptly, and effectually. The opportunity was never more favourable. We have a Governor-General well acquainted with all the details of the Indian Service; a Finance Minister, fully alive to the danger of allowing a pension-list gradually to double itself, and of the folly of paying unemployed officers that they may qualify for increased pension; and, finally, we may say that in Sir Stafford Northcote we possess an Indian Minister not indisposed to re-consider the working of a system which has reversed the expectations formed of it by its authors.

The writer of the circular we have already quoted, R. R., proposes to get rid of the difficulty by offering one hundred extra pensions annually to officers of the three Presidencies. "The number," he writes, "of unemployed field-officers is increasing monthly, and it would be a great saving to Government if those in excess could be got rid of gradually; and what is suggested is—

"1st.—That 100 extra pensions be offered annually in the proportion of 45 to Bengal, 32 to Madras, and 23 to Bombay.

"2nd.—That Brevet-Colonels in the Staff Corps get the pension of their rank, £456, with £144 additional, or in all £600 a year.

"3rd.—That Lieutenant-Colonels get £365 and an extra pension of £135, or in all £500.

"4th.—That if the allotted number of extra pensions has not been accepted by Lieutenant-Colonels, it be offered to Majors, who should get £292 with an extra pension of £108, or in all £400.

"These pensions to be given irrespective of leave; and the seniors to have the preference.

"The Staff Corps' pay of 100 Lieutenant-Colonels

" amounts annually to	...	...	£99,340
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" Pension of rank with £135 extra, or £500	...	...	
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" to 100 Lieutenant-Colonels	...	...	£50,000
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" Saving	..	..	..	..	£49,340
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"so the saving now would be nearly five lakhs annually, and Government would get rid of their liability for Colonel's allowances. Even if this boon were offered and accepted, there would still be upwards of 300 Lieutenant-Colonels and nearly 500 Majors in the three Staff Corps in 1872; and how is suitable employment to be found even for that reduced number?"

This scheme possesses many advantages. It is simple; it is not extravagant; it causes an immediate saving to Government of nearly five lakhs of rupees per annum; and it lifts off from the shoulders of the Government the terrible burden of having to pay officers for doing nothing, in order that, at the end of a certain time, they may draw a higher pension. Of any possible scheme it is the one most likely, we think, to be acceptable to the Government. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine how the Government could disapprove of it, for it involves an immediate and a prospective saving,—two objects which, if they can be accomplished without interfering with efficiency, must always rejoice the heart of a Finance Minister.

The only objection we have heard put forward to this scheme is that it would fail in its effect; that the field-

officers would be too much attached by the loadstone of £1,000 a year offered to all without limit, to deviate from their course of service in order to accept so small an addition to their pensions. This objection has been so strongly entertained that there has been submitted to Government, we hear officially, by one of its chief financial officers, another scheme, based upon the principle of offering a smaller extra pension than that proposed by R. R., but in addition to that a *bonus* calculated upon the actual value of Colonel's allowances to each officer. There can be no doubt but that this scheme would be the more attractive of the two for officers generally. It will, however, be more immediately expensive to Government, although it effects a considerable saving on the present lavish system. But, more liberal though it be, the fear entertained regarding it also is, that it will not induce a very large number of officers to retire.

We are not of that opinion. We think that there are many officers now constituting a heavy burden on the State, whom the offer of a small *bonus* combined with extra pension would induce to retire at once, but who otherwise would determine to wait on for their Colonel's allowances. A little ready-money, to furnish a house, to pay debts in India, to start a boy in life, is what they chiefly require. Were this offered to them, they would gladly waive their claim on the prospective £1,000 per annum.

But we have heard it remarked that any retiring scheme would be open to objection unless it could be arranged that none of the good officers of the Army should retire; that only the indifferent officers should be allowed to take advantage of it. We do not think there is much force in this objection. The remedy, in fact, is in the hands of Government. If, by chance, a good and efficient officer were to be induced by the offer of such a *bonus* and increased pension to retire, it would only be because he was not holding a suitable office under Government. The authorities have it always in their power to induce an officer to remain. We believe that very few officers whom the Government really desired to keep would take advantage of any offer of retirement. But even if it were to influence a few, there is at present so large a surplus of officers that there would be no difficulty in supplying their places. It would be impossible, at any rate, that the offer should be made to only a portion of the Army—that efficient officers should be excluded from the offer of a benefit, simply because they happened to be efficient.

The interests of the State require that immediate action should be taken, and we do not hesitate to record our strong conviction that no action can be effectual which does not hold out to officers some small immediate concession as an inducement to relinquish their hold on the large advantages in prospect. We would desire to take this opportunity of expressing the regret with which we have noticed how the difficulties brought about by the causes we have noticed have been made the peg whereupon to found an attack upon Staff Corps. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Staff Corps,—and this is a question into which we shall not enter,—this at least is certain, that the threatened increase of the pension-list, the actual increase of expenditure on account of officers, are quite independent of the principles upon which the Staff Corps were founded. Those evils are distinctly traceable to the two causes we have learned :—the one being the abolition of the Regulations of 1796 ; the other, the inducement held out to all officers to serve for thirty-eight years. But for those two measures, we should not have seen that immense army of field-officers unjustly attributed to the method of promotion laid down for the Staff Corps. The real fact is that it is these two measures which have deprived the Staff Corps system of the fair trial to which it was entitled.

Equally do we feel constrained to protest against that solution of the difficulty which an influential and able journal on the Western Coast has not hesitated to recommend. Violently to undo the work of the last seven years, to break up the three Staff Corps, to violate the solemn promises made by Her Majesty and by Her Secretary of State, to tear up the agreements in virtue of which officers have entered the Staff Corps : these are courses which a country like Spain, denied access to the exchanges of Europe for the violation of its engagements, might perhaps fitly employ, but which England would scorn to follow. In justice so glaring would not even enjoy the miserable merits of being successful. Any infringement upon those Regulations, sanctioned by Her Majesty's warrant or the orders of her Secretary of State, for which her Indian military servants were content to forego the protection of a Parliamentary guarantee, must necessarily be accompanied by an offer of compensation, and we are confident that any measure of this sort would cost the State far more than the very moderate proposals to which we have given prominence in this article. We believe, moreover, that the journal alluded to mistakes altogether the public

feeling regarding the Staff Corps. The Government of India, at least, have not yet recognised it as a failure, and no impartial writer will lay the present dead-lock to its charge. We dismiss, then, the proposal to strike a *coup d'état* at the present constitution of the Indian Army as being utterly unworthy of consideration. We do so the more readily, inasmuch as it is yet possible, if time be not culpably neglected, to bring about a satisfactory result in a legitimate manner.

We have already mentioned the proposal submitted by R. R., to meet the difficulty of providing annually a certain extra annuity for a hundred officers. But we should not be doing justice to his scheme were we to omit the reply to a reference on the subject which he received from a London actuary. We give the result in his own words. He writes:—

“That the extra pensions recommended last year were not more than officers were fairly entitled to, is proved by the answer to the following question, which was sent to a friend in London. The answer is by an actuary.

#### QUESTION.

A, (a Lieutenant-Colonel just promoted,) aged 44 on last January 1880, is entitled to an annuity of £600 a year on 1st January 1868; what is its value on the 1st of each year?

#### ANSWER.

Supposing that A's life is insurable at the ordinary rates, I am of opinion that the values of the above annuity at the under-mentioned dates are as follows:—

1st January 1869	... £1,510	1st January 1875	... £3,300
Ditto 1870	... £8,775	Ditto 1876	... £3,661
Ditto 1871	... £2,650	Ditto 1877	... £4,043
Ditto 1872	... £2,340	Ditto 1878	... £4,452
Ditto 1873	.. £2,643	Ditto 1879	... £4,853
Ditto 1874	... £2,962	Ditto 1880	... £5,280”

It would be interesting to contrast the amounts here given with the sums proposed in the official scheme, which, we understand, has been submitted to the Government. It seems probable to us that the latter must necessarily be of a lesser amount, inasmuch as the official scheme contemplates a small extra annuity in addition to pension. And this, we are inclined to think, is the better arrangement of the two.

Another scheme, which, we observe, has been advocated by a writer in the *Times of India*, and the *Army and Navy Gazette*, proposes to meet the difficulty and to diminish the

expenditure by allowing surplus Lieutenant-Colonels to remain in England on English pay till their services should be required in India. The writer in the *Times of India* suggests that, under such circumstances, to make up for the difference of climate, an officer should be forced to serve eighteen instead of twelve years for his Colonel's allowance. But, such a scheme, though it would relieve the expenditure for the moment, would not touch the main evil,—the enormous increase of pensions. These would continue to swell the budget, and there would be a greater certainty of officers living to enjoy them. If, however, it were meant, as the *Army and Navy Gazette* seems to imply, that time spent in England should not count towards Colonel's allowances, the scheme would be a good one, if officers could be induced to accept it. But this, with R. R., we take leave to doubt. He writes:—

“The number of field officers in the three Staff Corps in excess of the requirements of the Service is beginning at last to attract attention in England, and the *Army and Navy Gazette* lately recommended that an Act of Parliament be obtained to enable the Secretary of State to form a reserve of the surplus field-officers, and allow them to remain in England on English pay till their services were required in India; but such an arrangement is impracticable. The Secretary of State has guaranteed that officers who have joined the Staff Corps will not be placed on half-pay, and under this guarantee no officer could be compelled to proceed to England and remain there till his services were required. Very few would accept such an offer *unless* their promotion were to go on, and their claims to Colonel's allowance after thirty-eight years from date of first commission held good.

“Every year's delay increases the prospective liabilities of Government, and with the new Furlough Regulations it may be easy to spin out the 12 years in the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel.

“To get rid of several hundred officers at once would be an inconvenience to the public service, and therefore the best plan seems to be to offer extra pensions, or a *bonus*, to a fixed number annually on the 1st January, or 1st July.

“Some officers who would have gone a year ago on £600 pension have now made up their minds to remain for Colonel's allowances.”

This last sentence is convincing as to the necessity of prompt action in the matter.



There is in fact but one course really open to the Government. The interests of the State peremptorily require that the actual and prospective burdens upon its finances should be checked and prevented. This can only be accomplished by a prompt and vigorous course of action, embodying a measure similar to one of those which we have recommended. Whether it be the scheme of R. R., or the proposal officially submitted, will matter very little, provided only the measure actually adopted be sufficiently comprehensive to fulfil the end for which it is intended. The two great evils are :—1st, the retention on the list of useless officers ; 2nd, the payment of enormous allowances to such officers to enable them to qualify for extra pensions. These evils are to be met eventually by a recurrence to the scheme which encouraged earlier retirements. But meanwhile extra measures must be resorted to in order to induce those on their way towards Colonel's allowances to forego their claims.

We have spoken little of the military aspect of this measure, regarding it mainly as a financial question. It would have been easy to point out that the Staff Corps would immensely benefit by the retirement of some of its senior officers. It requires pruning at the top and replenishing at its lower grades. But, after all, the question is mainly financial, and it is this which gives us confidence that it will not be permitted to cause the Government to drift into catastrophe. That this will be the inevitable result if the evil be not boldly faced and as boldly checked, no one who has studied the case will venture to deny. But we have confidence in Sir Richard Temple. Even if he did not possess that capacity for finance, that inquiring genius, and that love of work for its own sake, with which the world has credited him, he could not, at a period when the expenditure of every department is increasing, when there are daily fresh calls upon the purse-strings of the Imperial Government, afford to be indifferent to an extra expenditure, which, one way or another, is steadily progressing towards a million sterling. But we are certain that there are other reasons which will stimulate his energies, and will induce him to arrest the course of that stream which—a few years ago only a trickling rill—has now attained the dimensions of a brook, and will inevitably, if left unchecked, swell, before long, into the irresistible fury of a torrent. The opportunities enjoyed by Sir Richard Temple, when, under the orders of the late Mr. Wilson, he overhauled all the public officers in Calcutta—when, in conjunction with Colonel

Balfour, he introduced a system where chaos had from time immemorial prevailed—peculiarly fit him to comprehend, at a glance, the inherent vice of the present system. He will not fail to see that to refuse to meet the accruing and increasing liabilities by a measure which will at once cancel them, will be to entail upon the State an expenditure to be measured ultimately by millions; upon the institutions of the Staff Corps, a discredit which cannot fail to overwhelm. Of the 2,204 officers who were borne on the rolls of those Corps on the 31st December 1866, 1,397, subject of course to casualties, will be field-officers in 1,872! But death-casualties are rare, and retirements have ceased! What a prospect is this! A Staff Corps, five-eighths of the officers of which will be field-officers, and of those five-eighths, numbering nearly fourteen hundred, each man gradually qualifying for a pension of £1,000 per annum! But no! if the Mr. Temple of the Calcutta of 1860, and of the Central Provinces of 1863, survives, as we believe, in Sir Richard Temple, the Finance Minister, we shall never see such a catastrophe as this!

#### ART. IV.—INDIAN LAND TENURE CONSIDERED AS AN ECONOMIC QUESTION.

THE following pages were originally intended as an introduction to a short tract on Land Tenure in India, considered from the point of view of Political Economy. But although they are designed to prepare the ground for the discussion of a special subject, the doctrines which have in the first instance to be maintained, are general principles, and we venture to hope that their investigation may be of general interest, and that the style in which they have been treated may not prove repulsive to the general reader.

Students of Political Economy will indeed find nothing new in what is here written. If anything has been added to what is borrowed from Mr. Mill, it is merely in the way of inference from, and expansion of, the premises which his work supplied. But we have chiefly tried to epitomize and throw into a popular form the doctrines to be found in that eminent man's writings and in other works of the same school, which seem most in accordance with the present state of speculation on this subject.

It will be seen that our conclusions point to a supreme ownership of land by the community or nation, (which ownership must of course be exercised through the State or National Executive,) and to a subordinate ownership vested in the actual cultivators. This summary of our views may sound revolutionary : so we hasten to assure any one who does us the honour to peruse these pages, that we are not putting forward plans for the regeneration of society in general, still less of English institutions in particular. All we desire is to prove that a system of tenures, founded on such doctrines, would not be incompatible with the general well-being ; or rather that, on the whole, such a system would be more healthy than those ordinary European systems which vest all property in land in some special class, to the exclusion of all the rest of the community.

We hope hereafter to be able to show that these doctrines of the supreme ownership of the nation and the subordinate ownership of the cultivator actually exist, in germ at least, in India,

and that they are the foundation of the practical systems which prevail there. Revolutionary as these doctrines may be in Europe, they are conservative in India : it is the European doctrine of absolute private property in land which is revolutionary here.

But though this is so, and is admitted to be so by all persons of Indian experience, there is a tendency to think that the doctrines themselves are economically unsound, and that the practice founded on them is vicious, and defensible only as a temporary expedient. Indian administrators and legislators are willing enough to admit that the State is the supreme landowner : only they can hardly feel quite sure that the State ought to be so. They are willing enough to admit that, practically, the land must of necessity be the main source of the public revenue ; but they look forward to a time when the land tax shall be fixed in perpetuity, or perhaps redeemed, and when revenue shall be almost wholly raised by ordinary taxes. They acquiesce grudgingly and with many apologies in the necessity for carrying out the great works of locomotion and irrigation by State aid ; but they cut down the State aid to a guarantee system that enriches speculators out of public money, and they limit State control to a supervision which is made into an excuse for inefficiency. And this is all done in the sacred name of "private enterprise." As to the subordinate ownership, people's ideas are entirely at sea. There are those who dream of "creating" a landed aristocracy, and those who dream of "creating" a peasant proprietary. Their own language admits that neither of these institutions exists ; but they do not see that the system of tenancy from the State is a far more desirable one for the community, and therefore ultimately for the individual, than either of the systems they consider the only possible ones.

It is with the view of combating these fallacies, and setting right, as far as may be, the prevalent misconceptions on these subjects, that we shall begin with the consideration of the abstract side of the question. We have not, we repeat, any plans for reforming English laws of property ; but if any one thinks the lessons we shall endeavour to teach, applicable at home, he will find, as we proceed, how far, and with what limitations, we are of the same opinion. We shall state our views with a candour which may, perhaps, offend some ; but we shall avoid domestic controversy : and when we draw any illustrations from particular cases, we shall be careful to state the mo-

difications which practice requires in applying abstract doctrine.\*

We purpose, in the first instance, briefly to consider the nature of property in land, and the various forms in which it may be exercised, with exclusive attention to their economic and social aspects. It is possible that some of the conclusions arrived at will be unpractical, and probably that many of them will be unpopular; but it must ever be borne in mind that though economical and social theories cannot be applied in a crude state to practice, but require modifications to adapt them to disturbing forces, nevertheless the economic and social theory is the standard towards which practice must tend, and by which practice must correct itself.

In an enquiry such as we have taken in hand, the first question that suggests itself is this: What is the ultimate basis on which property in land is founded?

Roughly stated, the right† of private property in general rests upon this fact,—that if the person who produces a portion of wealth is not permitted to dispose of that portion as he pleases, (either by consuming it himself, or by transferring it to another person, or by keeping it for future use,) production will cease. Society has therefore an interest in protecting the producer of wealth in the enjoyment of what he produces, and also his transferees in the enjoyment of that which they have received from him. We find, accordingly, that one of the essentials of a good state of society is, that property shall be secure.

Now, it is evident that a great deal of this reasoning does not apply to land. The man who produces a portion of wealth by his labour does not hinder others from doing the same; his ownership is not to the exclusion of any one else: without him the commodity would not have existed at all. But land did not come into existence through the efforts of any person or persons. Nor would any revolution in the laws of property

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\* This Essay was originally intended for publication in England as part of a larger work. But impaired health and other circumstances have hindered the writer from carrying out his design, and he owes to the courtesy of the *Calcutta Review* the fulfilment of this portion of his original plan.

† Throughout this discussion we shall try to use the word "right" as consistently as we can in its utilitarian sense. We do not wish to dogmatise as to whether utility is the basis of right or not; but the most transcendental of moralists will admit that what is *contrary* to utility cannot be a right.

directly\* diminish the quantity of land in any given country by one single rood. And, moreover, owing to the limitation of the quantity of land, the ownership of it, at least in a populous country, must be to the exclusion of other people: the possession of land must constitute a species of monopoly. "But though land is not the produce of industry, most of its valuable qualities are so. Labour is not only requisite for using, but almost equally so for fashioning, the instrument. \* \* \* \* \*

"The fruits of this industry cannot be reaped in a short period. The labour and outlay are immediate; the benefit is spread over many years, perhaps over all future time. A holder will not incur this labour and outlay when strangers and not himself will be benefited by it. If he undertakes such improvements, he must have a sufficient period before him in which to profit by them."†

From this it is inferred that the person whose labour and outlay maintain or increase the valuable qualities of the land, ought to possess a durable interest in the land.

Property in land may therefore be said to be founded on the expediency of conferring a durable interest upon the person whose labour and outlay maintain or increase the valuable qualities of the land.

But besides all this, there is, owing to the limitation of the quantity of land, a natural monopoly of the land itself, previous to, and independent of, its improvement by labour and outlay. The possession of this monopoly, and not the durable interest above spoken of, is what is usually meant by the phrase "property in land." Property in land, therefore, implies the power of exacting rent; for rent is the effect of this monopoly. If any person or class of persons is vested with the power of excluding all others from the use of the soil, it is clear that such person or class is also vested with the power to demand a price for sharing, or parting with, the monopoly. When the price is paid at stated periods, and the use of the soil transferred, not absolutely, but for a time more or less long, and conditionally upon the regularity of the payment, such payment is usually called rent.

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\* It might indirectly: for instance, if a change in the law of property rendered it no longer worth while to keep up a barrier against the sea,—which is a conceivable case.

† Mill's Political Economy, book 2, ch. 2, § 5.

If all the land in any given country were cultivated, and if all produced something more than the equivalent of its cultivator's subsistence, it is manifest that the holders of the monopoly would have it in their power to demand as rent the whole surplus that remained after rendering to the cultivator the necessities of life. If we suppose the entire land of a country cultivated by persons who were content to live upon bare necessities, then the rate of rent of the land of such a country would be limited by the difference between the subsistence of one such cultivator and the amount of produce which one such cultivator could raise from a given quantity of ground. This is the widest limit rent can vary in, since it is manifest that to transgress this limit would throw land out of cultivation by diminishing the number of labourers. In the case of a country with no industry but agriculture, the labourers would starve, or, at best, they might emigrate. It is, as we shall see hereafter, chiefly in such countries that the produce of land is divided directly between the landowner and the labourer. But for the sake of completeness it may be added, that if the country in question possessed other industries, a portion of the labour might be diverted from agriculture into them. If such influx forced *their* wage-rate below the subsistence point, then starvation or emigration would still thin the numbers of the labouring class.

So that in no case can the rate of rent exceed the difference between the labourer's subsistence and the produce of the best land. And, as a general rule, the rate of rent is limited by the difference between the produce of the best, and that of the worst, land which it is *ordinarily profitable*\* to cultivate. This, then, is the limit of the monopoly price. But there is a circumstance to be attended to in reference to the rate of rent, which is sometimes a source of confusion in discussions on this topic. If we suppose two plots of land of equal size and equal natural fertility, and that the one is left to itself, and the other improved by irrigation, or draining, or manuring, or fencing, or the like, it is manifest that the latter will bear a greater rent than the former. The rent of the former will be the simple monopoly price; that of the latter will be the same monopoly price *plus* the return of the capital expended in improving.

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\* This is what is meant by calling rent "surplus profits,"—a name to which Professor Jones very needlessly objected. Nobody ever confused English farmers' rents with Indian ryots' or Irish cottiers' rents, though he seems to have imagined the confusion a common one.

But the increase of value, which is given to some lands by expenditure of capital, over others their natural equals, cannot be readily distinguished and set apart from the natural monopoly price. It not always possible to say of any given plot of ground that it is worth a high rent in consequence of improvements, and not of natural advantages, or *vice versa*. Such increase of rent virtually unites with the natural monopoly rent of the land in question

It may be remarked here that a good deal of needless controversy would have been spared had the distinction between the *cause* and the *limit* of rent been borne in mind.

The cause is the monopoly arising from the limited quantity of land. But the limit is the difference of the returns to equal labour and capital on different soils. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same statement applies to all ground rents. Variations in the rent of pasture lands are limited by the difference in quantity or quality, or both, of the live stock supported by equal areas of land. Even variations in the rent of building ground are limited by the difference in the returns obtainable by equal capitals used in building on equal spaces.

It has already been remarked that the economic title to private property in land rests upon grounds somewhat differing from those of the title to private property in movables. It has been pointed out that if the protection of society were withdrawn, production would cease in a great measure, and accumulation would virtually cease altogether; whereas no such results would necessarily follow, as regards the actual land, from any amount of anarchy. But it was also suggested that the land would be practically rendered useless, if the possession of portions of it were not protected. The husbandman must have reasonable hopes of keeping his field at least from seed-time to harvest, or he will not sow. Even the herdsman or shepherd must keep possession of his pasture during the time required for grazing. And it is clear that if anything like improvement in husbandry is sought, if even the soil is to be protected against deterioration, since these things require labour, outlay, and intelligence, and since the labour and outlay require time to produce their results, the persons who cultivate the soil must have the possession of it in some measure secured to them.

From this point of view it would naturally be supposed that the monopoly of the land of every settled country would be in the hands of the actual tillers of the ground. One would expect to find them (supposing none but economic causes had



operated on the constitution of their society), occupying, separately or in common, such areas of land as they found convenient, and, if they raised from such lands any more than they needed for primary wants, devoting such surplus either to a common stock, or to the separate provision for such secondary wants as their state of civilization imposed upon them.

Such a picture would, however, be very unlike any state of society that ever has actually existed. Economic causes never do regulate the whole of the conditions of any society. It would be irrelevant and impracticable to enter into the discussion of the actual tenures of land that have prevailed in practice. Any one moderately acquainted with history can see that the facts may, without much inaccuracy, be thus summed up: Until very recent times, nearly all the monopolists of land have been non-cultivating minorities, and nearly all the cultivators have been either the slaves or the tenants of the minorities.

The possession of these landowners was never founded on the principle above stated, of maintaining and increasing the productiveness of the land: and it has not been generally exercised, though it has in a few instances, under the influence of that principle.

In ancient communities, usage or conquest, most commonly the latter, was the foundation of property in land. As society got settled, the tribes or classes actually in possession, and the others who were dependent upon them, became shaken down into their places. The origin of the possession was lost sight of, and the relations that had grown up appeared by association a necessary part of the constitution of things. Nay, landed-property actually became, and is, in the eyes of members of very ancient communities, the very type of all property, and the most sacred of all material rights. But if what has been urged above contain any truth, this is very far from being a correct view. On the contrary, antecedently to the historic events in which the old-established system took their rise, there was no person or class which had the community in general, a claim to the land. The claim to possession arises from the use made of the privilege.

*Prima facie* it belongs to the inhabitants of a country in proportion to their productive capacity. This doctrine is admitted by all modern and civilised communities, and by the colonies. The persons permitted to occupy

the land are called on to pay a price for the permission, and the price is received by the Government on behalf of the community. This amounts to an assertion of the ultimate control of the community over the monopoly of the land.

It follows from all this, that the primary right to receive rent, in so far as it is the price of the monopoly, is vested, not in any person or class, but in the State as representing the community at large. In a new community, it would be generally admitted that the State might, if it pleased, instead of selling its land, lease it at a yearly rent. To do so or not, would be a mere question of general policy.

But it also follows from the remarks above made, that even if the State has parted with its control over the land of the community, and vested it in a privileged class, it has not parted irrevocably with it. For, the foundation of the right of property in land being the acquiescence of the community, and the implied condition of that acquiescence being the right use of the privilege, it follows that the moment the privilege becomes detrimental, its justification ceases. The State would therefore, in the last resort, be justified in resuming an abused privilege of this kind; and if in resuming it, then in taking any measure short of resumption to ensure its right use.

But, in truth, it can never be expedient for the State to part wholly with its interests in the land. Whatever may be said, and on whatever grounds, as to the expediency of the existence of a privileged class possessed of the land of a country, and living mainly on the rent, it is as certain as any proposition in Political Economy can be, that such a class ought not to be permitted to absorb the whole rent. And this for two reasons: In the first place, if a privileged class is permitted to acquire exclusive possession of the land, they will speedily come to regard themselves as having an unquestionable and unimpeachable title, and any attempt to exercise control over their arbitrary use of their privilege will be looked on as intionary.\* Men are easily misled by words; and the use of "landed-property" by association leads them to level with all other kinds of property, and to what are called "landed-rights" with dictate to them in the use

\* And will be rev. enough, and the unprivileged in the general constitution of this to their cost in 1789-93.

are only arbitrary safety-valve exists noblesse found out

of things which are indisputably their own, and upon which no other person has any claim. Now, all this false reasoning would have much less plausibility if the State asserted its right as the common owner, by reserving a part of the rent of all land that bore rent, and by retaining in a great measure the control of unoccupied land.

But there is a second reason why the State should reserve to itself a share of the rent of its land. That rent is, in the first instance, the price of the monopoly which, antecedent to the creation of a privileged class, is vested in the community. Rent, in so far as it is the monopoly price, is, therefore, the natural income of the community as such. The State, in reserving a share of the rent to be applied to public purposes, deprives nobody of anything to which he has a just claim. In proportion, therefore, as the public expenditure is met by rent (which is not a burthen to the community), the State is in a healthier condition than where the expenditure is met by taxation.\* It seems, then, that the peculiar nature of landed-property requires the assertion of its ultimate ownership by the State in the reservation of a portion of the rent; and, further, that this share may be, and indeed ought to be, so considerable as to lighten in a great degree the burthen of taxation. In order that it may effectually do this, the amount must not be fixed, but must be adjusted so as to increase with the increase of the whole rent, and of course diminish with its diminution. Indeed, a fixed rent-charge *would tend* in a great degree to defeat one of its own objects—that of keeping up the idea of the ultimate ownership of the State.

It is requisite, at this point of the discussion, to meet certain objections. In the first place, it is urged that the ownership of the community simply means insecure title; that it is inconsistent with the durable interest vested in the improver of the soil, which we have affirmed to be the true foundation of the right of property in land. Individual tenants of the State, with the assertion of the right of the community hanging over their heads, will not, it is urged, as freely invest capital or bestow labour, as if they held their estates in perpetuity, and free from demands.

When we come to deal with some actual tenancies where the right of the State is practically asserted, we may have an opportunity of suggesting a more detailed reply to this argument. In the meantime it may suffice to say that, in the first place, expe-

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\* See Mill's Political Economy, book 5, ch. 2, § 6.



They are mostly left to Joint Stock Companies. But Joint Stock Companies are a far less advantageous agency than the State. In the first place, it is obvious that the primary object is profit, which is not the primary object of State enterprise. Having once defrayed the expenses of its undertaking, the State will have no motive to enrich itself by demanding high prices for the advantages it supplies. The private Company has.

But what is much more important, these works, by whomsoever undertaken, are virtual monopolies; and it is easy to see that monopolies must at least be controlled by the State, and probably are best when the State manages them wholly.

The necessity of State control over virtual monopolies is beginning to be much more generally acknowledged at the present day than it has hitherto been. Long ago the principle was directly admitted, that purely artificial monopolies ought not to be created, the only exception being that of patents granted for the encouragement of invention. But, until very lately, it used to be believed, and there are many who would still maintain, that so long as no legal prohibition against competing was enacted, it did not matter that the circumstances of a particular enterprise forbade real competition, and established monopolies as stringent as any patent. The most marked example of this is the English railway system. "Private enterprise" was supposed to have reached its climax in covering England with railways. Yet the system does not work well; and there are many who think that it ought from the first to have been managed by the State, and that the State ought even now to assume the management. The failure in a financial aspect does not touch the argument directly: though, in so far as it is attributable to the attempts on the part of certain lines to set up an impracticable competition, it may be taken as a proof of the position that they are, from circumstance, virtual monopolies. But what does bear directly on the position we are here maintaining, is the acknowledged inconvenience and even danger often attending on railway travelling, and mainly from the fact that railways are things over which the public have no control, and which are managed with a view to the profits of certain individuals, and not to the safety or convenience of the public.

Here, then, is an instance of a virtual monopoly, which the public are beginning to find objectionable, and which is misplaced when left to private enterprise. A reasoning which appears to

condemn private enterprise in the case of this monopoly, is equally applicable to all similar monopolies.

It seems, then, that enterprises of internal communication, as well as of direct agricultural improvement, can be undertaken by the State more effectively and more safely than by private proprietors or by Joint Stock Companies. This, we think, may be considered a conclusive answer to those who deny the expediency of taxes or rent, because, as they allege, rent is the fund from which capital is saved for agricultural improvement. Now, even if it were true that private landlords always saved capital out of their rent to improve their estates, we think it has been shown that the State can do this better than any private landlord, because it can do it on a larger scale. But all the world over, the landlords who spend part of their rents in improving their lands, are the exception, and not the rule.

These considerations appear to prove the expediency of a land tax, first, as an assertion of the common right of the inhabitants of a country to its land, antecedent to its assignment to any class; secondly, as being what we ventured to call the natural income of the community as such, and therefore of the State as representing the community; and, thirdly, as enabling the State to do its duty as lord of the soil, in a more effectual manner than any class of private owners.

We have asserted a right on the part of the State to vary the amount of this tax so as to correspond with the variations in the rent of the land. If the State be primarily entitled to the entire monopoly rent, it is clearly entitled to all the variations in the value of the monopoly. And if, by the action of the State, an increase is effected in the value of the whole land, or of any given portion, it will be readily admitted that the State is entitled to the increase of rent which corresponds to that increase of value which, as already pointed out, virtually unites with the monopoly price. And since the State is entitled to the whole, and to the variations in the whole, it is manifestly entitled to the variations in the part which, under the name of land tax, it may take as its share; for, as will be seen

the State can hardly ever receive the entire rent of its  
many reasons why it ought not to attempt

The sum, ... consider, in an important  
practical instance, ... the question  
of a variable, as against a ... before  
dismiss this part of the discussion ... We do

not for an instant wish to suggest that the power of increasing this tax should be made subservient to financial exigencies. On the contrary, we earnestly maintain that its fluctuations should depend wholly on the fluctuations in the rent itself.

Before passing to another stage in this discussion, we think it right to remind the reader that we set out with an admission of the probable unpopularity and unpracticalness of some of our conclusions. We have propounded a very abstract theory regarding the primary right of property in land; and we are perfectly aware of the many limitations and modifications this and all such theories must undergo in any application to practice. Indeed, there are many actual societies in which a theory of this kind must be inoperative for almost any practical purpose. We should not wish, for instance, to see the State in England assume the functions of universal landlord. We think the existence of the landlord class in England quite indefensible on theoretic grounds; but we are very far from agreeing with those extreme thinkers who look on them as a practical nuisance; and we are quite sure that superseding them wholesale would do more harm than good. Confiscation would be disastrous to the empire, and is not to be thought of; and even buying up their interests is a step few persons would propose, and one which we should earnestly deprecate. So of taxation on rent. We think the landlord class contributes a most unfairly small share to the national burthens, but we know of few measures that require so much caution as the imposition of a rent tax.

But, however inoperative in practice, the theory we have enunciated seems to us to be true, and we think we have proved it.

In the preceding pages we hope we have effectually dealt with the economic objections to State ownership and rent tax. There is, however, an objection on political grounds; and although we are not desirous of making this a political treatise, the question is worth discussing briefly, because we have admitted that political consequences may largely modify economic conclusions.

The objection is, that the Executive of the State for the time being, would have the disposal of the rents, independently of the Legislature; and that this is contrary to the well-known principle of constitutional government, which in England is expressed in the saying that the Commons have the power of the purse. This power of the purse is held to be a very strong safeguard of liberty and good government; and, as a matter of fact, it has

proved itself to be so. But it seems to us that it has, owing to the alteration of circumstances, lost much of its virtue. Formerly the kings of England, for example, when they wanted to encroach on the liberties of their subjects, had to create an armed force to help them. Without money they could not do this; and the money was not to be had but by applying to Parliament for it. Yet Charles I. was able to raise a civil war whose event hung in the balance for years. And there can be little doubt that now, when standing armies are in existence in every country in Europe, any Executive which could induce the army to back it, could enforce obedience to its decrees, financial and other, in spite of any constitutional theory of the power of the purse. In the present state of relations between Executive Governments and subjects, it is in the loyalty of citizens to freedom and constitutional right, and in the loyalty of soldiers to their duty as citizens, that the safeguard of freedom must be placed; and not in the fiction of the House of Commons being able to starve the army.

And, as regards good government, it seems to us that our safeguard consists in the liberty of criticism which representative institutions give, and in the power which representative bodies possess of displacing and remodelling the Executive. No ministry can now, under ordinary circumstances, dispose of any sum of public money, no matter whence derived, without the approval of the Commons. They could not do it any more if the money were derived from a rent tax.

But it may be said that the Executive Government, being practically the landlord, might use its powers for purposes of corruption. This is to argue from a false analogy. Private landlords do use their powers in this way, and it is precisely for such purposes that they defend so strenuously the system of tenancy-at-will. But where there are no tenancies-at-will, the obnoxious power vanishes.

As a matter of fact, Executive Governments always have, and must have, public money and patronage at their disposal, which may be used for corrupt purposes. The source whence the money and the patronage are derived is not, from this point of view, a matter of very great moment. The money and the power must be entrusted to the discretion of the Executive for the time being; and the check must, in the long run, be mainly the publicity of a representative constitution.

It may also be argued, that to constitute the State the supreme land-owner, would be enlarging unduly the func-



tions of Government. Fully to discuss this argument would be to open up the entire question of the limits of Government action—a subject much too wide to be treated here. But this much may be said: the considerations already urged go to show that, in the nature of things, the State must interfere in the arrangements regarding land, to a far greater extent than in those relating to any other kind of property, and that the interference is most beneficial when it assumes the form of asserting the supreme ownership of the community. We are entirely of one mind with those who claim that human individuality shall be as free as possible from State interference and control. But this freedom, we believe, is mainly of a moral nature; and where the institution of property is concerned, the freedom of the individual comes into direct contact with the freedom and material well-being of others, and the community, acting through its authorised leaders and in its aggregate capacity, becomes entitled to take cognizance of the relations so created. It is for this reason, as every one knows, that the second duty of the State, after providing for the safety of the lives and persons, and for the bodily freedom, of the citizens, is to regulate the institution of property; and, as has been already pointed out, land is the kind of property in which the community is most deeply concerned, and in regard to which the interference of public authority is most requisite.

Accordingly, it is precisely the political school most zealous for moral and legal freedom, which is also most prepared to accept State control of landed-property.

These remarks have been added in order to show that the doctrine we are attempting to enforce is as little assailable from its political as from its economic side. But our main purpose is to prove that the doctrine in question is economically tenable: its political justification we can do no more than indicate. Nor is there any need to do so, in preparing the ground, as we are doing, for the discussion of an Indian question. India is in the state in which the first thing to be thought of is, the securing and maintaining material well-being. Individual freedom she possesses, so far as her circumstances will permit. Self-government, indeed, is impossible, and must be so—no one can say how long. Her rulers must be, and must continue to be, invested with much greater powers than those of any western community: and it is therefore for the present idle to criticise the sovereign's power over the land, as a

doctrine of Indian policy, from the point of view of western freedom, even if the criticism were in itself just.

Briefly, the supreme ownership of the State is not really a derogation from political freedom, rightly understood ; and if it were, it is still justified by the circumstances of India : so that, as regards India, it is only necessary to make out a case for it on economic grounds.

The foregoing considerations have been urged with the object of showing, first, that the rent of land, in so far as it is the price paid for the use of a monopolised natural agent, may be legitimately appropriated by the State as representing the community ; and, next, that there is no absolute inherent right in any body of persons, as distinct from the community, to enjoy the monopoly of land.

It is, however, obvious that only in the very rudest states of society can the collective ownership of the community be exercised directly : in other words, as society advances in civilisation, an increasing number of persons will be withdrawn from the practice of agriculture, to be engaged in other branches of industry. A class, more or less limited, must be entrusted with dominion over the land, for the supply of the wants of the rest. The problem of land tenure is to determine what are the conditions under which this class ought to exist. The end of a system of land tenure is, copious production combined with advantageous distribution of agricultural wealth. Over the conditions of production, social or legal arrangements can have but little direct influence.

The law can, it is true, forbid or discourage certain productions, and it is also possible to stimulate certain kinds of industry, agricultural and other, within limits imposed by natural conditions. A familiar instance is afforded by the beet-sugar manufacture of France. But the main influence exercised by social and legal arrangements is over distribution. The things once there, society can, in a very great measure, dispose of them as it pleases. The influence of these arrangements does also re-act upon production. Capital is more readily found where its return is firmly secured : labour is more effective when its remuneration is ample and constant. Now, in what way does society exert its power of governing the distribution of wealth ? Not directly, by assigning to each of its members his share in the things possessed by the society or created by its industry. This would be a form of communism, and we are not now called upon to pronounce any judgment on that scheme.

The ordinary way in which society, as actually constituted, manages the distribution of wealth, is by assigning certain rights to its members, and protecting them in the enjoyment of these rights.

We are not now dealing with the science of Political Economy in general, and we must assume, on the part of those for whom we write, a general knowledge of the principles of that science. It will therefore suffice to take it as understood that the returns of industrial enterprise generally consist of profits, which are the share of the capitalists, and of wages, which are the share of the labourers who jointly carry on the industry in question. In the special case of industry applied to the land, there is a third thing included in its returns, called rent, the nature of which we have before explained. It is demonstrable, that so long as society abstains from forcibly adjusting these shares, wages, profits, and rent, will tend to adjust themselves by laws which economic science can ascertain. Roughly stated, wages adjust themselves by the competition of labour, and profits by the competition of capital. Rents, as already shown, are paid out of the surplus that remains after providing for the returns of labour and capital. Something on each of these points will have to be written as we come to discuss the classes concerned with the land.

Society, then, in general, may safely act on the principle that labour and capital belong to the labourers and capitalists respectively, and that each is to make the best bargain he can for himself. Capital is either something that a man saves out of his own personal gains, or something transmitted to him from another person who has so saved it. Capital therefore comes under the definition of private property, with which we set out. Its employment is something with which the community cannot interfere without sacrificing a higher and an ultimate utility for the sake of a lower and an immediate one. As to labour, we need not take much trouble to prove that it is wholly and solely the labourer's own, and that society has no control over it, save in exceptional and special circumstances.\*

But land, as already pointed out, belongs in the first instance

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\* This statement, like many others in pure economic science, requires much modification in practice. An instance will readily occur—that of Poor Laws. The claim of support from the State becomes correlative to a claim on the part of the State against the labour of those supported. We must again plead that we are not writing a general treatise. The labour question is a very large one, and can only be incidentally touched here.

to nobody. Society is therefore compelled to make some choice as to the way in which dominion over it shall be exercised. We have already intimated that in ancient communities a series of events in no wise connected with economic science actually determined this choice. But it is at least an interesting speculation to try to ascertain how economic science would have solved the question.

The principle has been already laid down, that the expenditure of labour and capital in improvement is what gives a claim to permanent interest in land. It is admitted that security of tenure is an indispensable condition even of preventing deterioration. In order that the land may give an equable supply of its produce, it must be kept from being exhausted; and this alone demands skill, outlay, and labour. *A fortiori*, greater skill, greater outlay, and greater labour, are required, if increasing supplies are to be procured. Our problem is to determine in what way the greatest efficiency is to be attained for these.

The persons actually and directly engaged in the cultivation of the soil may be divided into two classes: capitalists cultivating with the assistance of hired labour, and labourers cultivating with capital which they either find for themselves or borrow from a capitalist. The former class is most commonly found in connexion with proprietors of large estates. The capitalist who engages in the cultivation of land by means of hired labour, is usually called a farmer: and if he pays rent for his land, he is a tenant farmer.

The labourer who supplies or borrows his cultivating capital, is usually called a peasant. We shall use the words farmer, or capitalist farmer, and peasant, as strictly as we can in these senses.

Now, it is clear that both farmer and peasant, whether direct tenants of the State, or tenants of private landlords, may hold for a term, or at will; or the law may be so constructed that the cultivator, be he capitalist or peasant, should himself be proprietor. It is easy enough to understand that the closer the *status* of the cultivator approaches to that of proprietor, or, in other words, the greater the fixity of his tenure, the greater security there is, not only for the comfort of the cultivator himself, but for the goodness of his husbandry, provided that other social and economic conditions be not hostile and sufficiently strong to defeat the tendency of permanent tenure. For example, if a cultivator be in possession under a long lease, or in perpetuity, of sufficient land to maintain himself and his immediate family in comfort,

then the continuance of that comfort will mainly depend upon the prudence of the cultivator and his family in so providing for themselves and their descendants that the land shall not be overburdened. And as to the goodness of the cultivator's husbandry, it is obvious, *à priori*, and is a matter of every-day experience, that the more secure the possession of a holding, the less is the holder's temptation to commit any of the various forms of imprudence by which land is injured, seeing that the loss will fall on himself or his own descendants, and not on strangers.

We do not mean to say that the motives here assigned for prudence will always prevail. We are quite well aware that these motives are open to counteraction, and in practice are actually counteracted by various conflicting ones. Of this hereafter : meantime it is sufficient for our purpose to point out the fact that permanency of tenure is a favourable condition as well for the promotion of good cultivation as for the personal advantage of the cultivator.

We have already seen that the right to that share of the produce of land which is called rent, resides in the community at large, antecedently to its assignment to any class. In order to test the expediency of assigning the proprietorship of land to one or other of the various classes on whom it is possible to confer it, we must examine the tendency which will be developed in each class.

Let us first consider the case in which each member of the class shall, or may, possess a landed estate large enough to afford him, in the form of rent alone, an income which shall at least suffice for his support. A member of such a class may of course resolve to expend capital, and cultivate his estate by the assistance of hired labourers. In such a case his position will resemble that of a capitalist farmer, as will be seen when we come to discuss that class.

But when it is postulated that the income derived from rent shall be sufficient to maintain the receiver, it is manifest that he may elect to live wholly on such income. And in that case, he will let his estate to one or more farmers or peasants, from whom he will draw rent. Now, here it is plain, that granting permanency of tenure to such tenants is not the landlord's most obvious interest. It is true that by contracting for a term, he guards himself against loss in bad harvests if he debars himself of gain in good ; but the majority of mankind are prone to reckon the chances of gain, and neglect those of loss. And the evil of precarious cultivation is not easily to be distinguished from

accidental loss, until it has reached a stage at which remedy becomes extremely difficult. Besides, love of power is flattered by the possession of complete control of property ; and it will be seen hereafter that circumstances may be such as to produce a false impression that the power in question is not mischievous.

The tendency of such a state of things will be to raise the rent (which is the price of the monopolised article—land) to its highest rates, and this for the benefit of a class of persons who, at any rate, are not compelled to make any return of any kind to the community, for that which they gratuitously receive. Its primary effect will therefore be, to raise up a class living at the expense of the community, possessing control over a commodity essential to the common well being, and yet having interests antagonistic to the interests of all the rest. That these tendencies have never had their full effect, is due to a variety of causes, some of which we shall have to investigate. But that such tendencies exist, and that they produce effects disastrous in the extreme, is a fact proved by only too strong evidence.

It will be easily seen that the tendencies of an insecure tenure are more mischievous when the mass of the cultivators are peasants than when they are capitalist farmers. The latter are mostly found in communities where agriculture is only one of many co-ordinate industries ; the former are chiefly found where the great mass of the population are employed in agriculture, and other modes of industry are few and subordinate. Now, on the one hand, where there are many modes of employment for capital, arrangements which press upon one of these are less injurious than if it stood alone ; and, on the other, the greater enlightenment which for the most part is found in commercial communities, re-acts upon the landed-proprietors, and makes them better aware of their true interests. Accordingly, a farmer is better able to protect himself than a peasant, because he can carry his capital elsewhere ; and his landlord is less likely to fancy it his interest to press hardly upon the tenant.

This is the true explanation of the fact that English systems of land tenure appear to be successful in spite of economic reasons why they ought to be failures. A great deal of land in England is held nominally from year to year ; but the farmer knows that he has the practical security of tenure which custom gives, and he invests his labour and capital on that security, though not with the same reliance as he would feel if he held a long lease, or were himself a proprietor. The prosperity of English agriculture is often pointed to as an argument of the

"*solvitur ambulando*" sort, against all who assert the scientific theory of land tenure. But if what we have said above contains any truth, it prospers in spite of being unscientific, and in consequence of causes which neutralise the inherent vices of the system; and it is therefore rather one of the exceptions which prove the rule. But the case is very much altered where peasants are in question. A peasant tenantry holding at will, has always been characterised by poverty and bad husbandry. The most marked example of this is, of course, Ireland. Here every thing concurred to bring out in strong relief the vices of the system of tenancy-at-will. A teeming population, with the most imprudent habits, lived wholly on the produce of the soil, having no manufactures and no commerce, and being under the influence of a strong attachment to their native land, which rendered emigration so distasteful that it needed famine and pestilence to force them to it. That in such a state of things competition for land should produce rack-renting, was only natural. To do the landlords justice, they were seldom hard. Nor was the poverty of the country their fault. It was the fault of a policy which prohibited manufactures and commerce, and every other source of wealth to the country, and drove its inhabitants back on the land as their only means of subsistence. It was also, in part, the fault of habits of early marriage leading to undue multiplication. The Irish landlords certainly did not improve their lands; but in this respect they were no worse than their English brethren. Improvements seldom originate with landlords, though they may adopt and forward them. But the more the excuses that are made for the Irish landlords individually, the more effectual becomes the condemnation of the system of which they formed part, and which now, though its worst mischiefs have been done long ago, and, it may be hoped, cannot be repeated, is in such a state that its faults and their remedies are equally intolerable. It appears, then, that an unlimited freedom of action on the part of landlords is not wholly incompatible with public well-being in communities possessed of various means for the employment of labour and capital, and in which cultivation is chiefly carried on by capitalists; but that it is inconsistent with public well-being in countries whose sole industry is agricultural.

It is desirable, at this stage of the discussion, to put on record the admission that landed-aristocracies, that of England in particular, have been of considerable utility: but their utility has

been social and political, rather than economic. It would be travelling too far from the province of economic speculation, and trespassing too much on that of history, to discuss the action of feudal aristocracies on the progress of society. The position of the body of English landholders was eminently favourable to the acquisition and the beneficial use of political influence. From the earliest times, they have mediated between the crown and the people: and it is in no small degree due to their action, that the monarchy never became despotic, and that democracy has not yet become revolutionary. It is needless, and in a work of this kind it is out of place, to record the political and social services of the gentry of England. But we would invite attention to the fact that these services were rendered by men who, on the whole, abstained from using to the full extent the privilege of getting all they could out of their tenants, and dealing arbitrarily with their properties. And however fully the English landlord might, in individual cases, exercise the rights of property, he seldom forgot that there were duties annexed to those rights. The old feudal relation of lord and vassal and retainer died out; but it left its traces in the constitution of society, and the feudal superior of past centuries is the local justice, the local administrator, the guardian of the poor, and, what is by no means of minor importance, the local leader of society of to-day.

It has been already pointed out that there are circumstances in the economic position of England which mitigate, in a very considerable degree, the evils of unrestrained landlordism. And it is to be further remarked that, however apparently untenable the position of a given privileged class may be in abstract theory, the danger and the injustice of attacking privileges in practice may be so great as to render the anomaly more tolerable than its correction. It is probable that no statesman who guided himself by scientific principle, would at this day attempt to create a landed-aristocracy; but neither would a statesman of practical sagacity think himself justified in attempting to revolutionise such a system, if it had been useful in the past, and now were working well.

It may be expected that in dealing with this part of the subject, something will be said on a question much discussed at the present day, *viz.*, the laws and customs regulating succession to real property, and in particular those of Entail and Primogeniture.

It may be sufficient, however, to pass over these points



with a very brief notice. The subject to which these general remarks are introductory is a practical one, and in it there is no question of primogeniture or of entail. These are purely matters of English politics : and our references to England are intended merely to illustrate our arguments, and, in a measure, to combat certain fallacious assumptions that things must be right because they are English. We may then just say, with regard to the points indicated, that the power of entail appears to us to be an unnecessary and inexpedient extension of the right of disposing of private property. We think it is essential to that right, that an owner should have the power of transferring his goods once for all by bequest or gift. But we do not see any necessity for his having power to regulate a series of future transfers, especially after his death. And as to land in particular, the power of "tying it up," as it is called, is manifestly a detraction from the general control of the community, which we have elsewhere stated to be essential.

Primogeniture we look upon as a question, not of Political Economy, but of what may be called the morality of property. Its retention or abolition in any given community seems wholly to depend on whether more importance is attached to the moral claims of all children to participate alike in the property of an intestate parent, or to the expediency, real or imaginary, of maintaining a certain kind of distribution of land. In one word, they are both questions related to an aristocracy of large landowners. Such an aristocracy, as we have shown, is not an economic necessity. It may turn out, according to circumstances, a social benefit, as the English landed-class, on the whole, has. On the other hand, it may prove a social nuisance, like too many of such classes all over the world. In the first case, it may be worth while to keep up entails and primogeniture for the sake of the benefits derived from the existence of the class. In the second case, the institutions that keep alive the class are included in its condemnation.

In connexion with this part of the subject it may be remarked that where a purely rent-receiving class of landowners exists, it is distinctly expedient that the numbers of such class be subject to limitation, provided always that they be sufficiently numerous to leave room for fair competition. Of course, if landlords be very few in number, they can more easily combine ; and as they will still constitute a class, having interests distinct from, and possibly hostile to, those of the rest of the community, they may use their powers of combining to the public detri-

ment. But, on the other hand, a too numerous class of landlords is apt to do mischief in another way. In the first place, the more numerous they are, the poorer they are likely to be, and the less, therefore, will be their power of accumulating the capital requisite for doing the works which are required of them. It has been already pointed out, that certain works can only be executed with full effect by the State, because it alone can work on a sufficiently large scale. Parity of reasoning will show that, as between large and small estates, the advantage in matters of this kind is greatly on the side of the large estates. But this is not all. The amount of "surplus profits," which is to be distributed among the class, being supposed the same, the greater will be the necessity that the whole of it be absorbed by the class, so that no margin whatever may be left to return to the actual cultivators. Hence, the practices of short leases, tenancy-at-will, and rack-renting, are more likely to hold ground among a numerous landlord class. It might be imagined that the laws of primogeniture and entail would, at any rate, tend to hold in check evils of this kind. And so they do in a degree, but not so largely as might be supposed at first sight; for entailed lands are not uncommonly "saddled" with provisions for younger children, so that what seems to be a large undivided estate is really the property of a body of persons, of whom the nominal landlord is virtually only the trustee. This is just as fatal to accumulation and improvement on his part as if the estate were actually divided, and just as likely to lead to short leases and rack rents. And, moreover, the limitation of numbers, in this instance, may leave open all the power of combining, while the temptation to abuse proprietary rights is still present, and the ability to use them beneficially no longer exists.

Enough has now been said on the economic position of the landlord class. If we have appeared to dwell too exclusively upon the evils incident to their existence, we may be able to justify ourselves by the following considerations. In the first place, if it be true that their existence is not an economic necessity, the burden lies on their supporters, and not on the writer of an economic discourse, of showing what is their *raison d'être*. In the next place, we have admitted that in some cases they have justified their existence by national services, though rarely by the kind of services Political Economy demands of them. Lastly, we are not writing with a view to English politics; and, if we were, we should have no fear that any criticism

of ours would much damage an institution so intimately bound up with the actual structure of English society. Englishmen owe too much to their gentry to be afraid of hearing the truth about them; and it may be that the gentry themselves need to be reminded of their own shortcomings, lest they fancy that they can rely entirely on social and political services, and refuse to acknowledge their duty in promoting the material wealth of the country.

But these facts need more particularly to be dwelt upon, because a certain class of thinkers are disposed to set up the exceptional services of the English aristocracy as a reason for trying to create similar classes elsewhere. Our landlords, they say, have not, on the whole, abused their powers. In some few cases they have greatly improved their properties. At all events, they have been a valuable political order in the State. *Therefore* let us make others like them in Bengal for example. It is to show the weakness of this kind of reasoning that we have criticised so severely the economic defects of the class. We want to show that when you have made your landlord, the probability is that you will have got only a rack-renter, instead of an improver and social political leader.

In what has been already said, we have endeavoured to show the right and duty of the State, as representing the community, to take upon itself the privileges, and undergo the responsibilities, of supreme landowner; and we have pointed out the danger of abdicating the privileges in favour of a minority who may be, and commonly are, tempted to shirk the responsibilities.

We now address ourselves to a far more difficult task—that of ascertaining what ought to be the action of the State with regard to the classes actually engaged in the work of cultivation.

As we have before remarked, these classes are susceptible of a great twofold division—that of farmers and peasants. The farmer is a capitalist, large or small, and is assisted by hired labourers; and his relation to the farm is analogous to that of the factory-owner to the factory.

In treating of capitalist farmers, it will, therefore, be necessary to deal also with the class of day-labourers engaged in agriculture under farmers. The peasant farmer is a labourer cultivating generally no more land than just supplies work to himself and his family, and finding the capital for this industry himself; that is, either possessing it of his own, or borrowing it from another person, who may be the same to whom the peasant pays rent.

Though the distinction between these classes is obvious enough, yet it is not easy to say exactly at what point the one separates from the other. Except on the very minutest allotments, it cannot be said that hired labour will never be wanted: and, on the other hand, it is not easy to fix the exact quantity of land which (say) a family seven in number can always cultivate without hired assistance. But there is such a maximum, though a vague one; and beyond that maximum the capitalist may be said to begin.

There are two questions in the political economy of land tenure, whose answer is absolutely essential to the framing a correct theory, and which it is of the utmost importance to keep distinct, though they are commonly confused, and their confusion leads to most erroneous reasoning. First, whether is the farmer or the peasant the more useful producer; or, in other words, is cultivation on a large or on a small scale more efficient? Secondly, whether the distribution of wealth among the cultivating class is better organised where the bulk of the class are capitalist farmers and labourers, or where the bulk of the class are peasants?

These questions, we say, must be kept distinct. It might be perfectly true that farmers produced more than peasants, and yet the produce might be so unequally distributed as to give a manifest advantage to the peasants. We think it is fully within the province of the political economy of land tenure to enquire whether one system, however superior as an instrument of production, tends to produce pauperism in a very large section of the community; and whether another system, even if less efficient, tends to guard against that evil. And if it be found that this is so, it may be permitted to practical statesmanship to decide that it requires very great superiority, as an instrument of production, to induce a preference for the former system over the latter.

We are quite well aware that we are here treading on dangerous ground. We may be told that Political Economy has nothing to do with the distribution of wealth, but only with its production; or, at any rate, that it has only to investigate sequences, without any jurisdiction over social arrangements which are their antecedents. The first of these propositions we deny: the latter we admit with limitation. That, as a science, Political Economy can only investigate, we admit; but we plead that the science of Political Economy can and ought to guide the art of practical statesmanship in those matters on which the science

can throw light. And we contend that if the contrast be presented to a statesman, between a community organised for the utmost efficiency in production, yet containing a considerable leaven of pauperism, and a community less efficiently organised for production, but whose institutions are more calculated to guard against pauperism, the statesman is obliged to act upon a preference (which in our opinion should be in favour of the latter), in founding institutions tending to one or the other result. But if the superiority in one respect turns out to be real and great, and in the other to be only apparent; or, if real extremely small in comparison, in that case at least it is obvious that practical statesmanship ought to be directed towards producing the result that manifestly tends to yield the most advantage.

We return, then, to the questions formerly proposed. And first, are farmers more effective producers than peasants?

A very common mode of answering this question is, to assume certain countries as respectively typical of the systems, and to infer the success of each system from a comparison of these countries.

England is usually, and indeed necessarily, taken as the type of the farm system; France as that of the peasant system. It is confidently affirmed that English agriculture is vastly more successful than the agriculture of France; and it is said that French cultivators work harder with an inferior result. This may be true, though we doubt it: but we hold that the comparison between England and France is a very misleading one. It is founded mainly on the computation that two-thirds of the population of France are agriculturists, and only one-third of that of England. Hence, it is inferred that while in France the labour of two cultivators maintains only three persons, in England the labour of two cultivators maintains six: and according to this estimate, English labour is twice as productive as French. This might be true, if no food were imported into either country, and if the agriculture of both countries were employed solely in the production of food. But as food is largely imported into England, we should know precisely the proportion between the food importation of England and that of France, before we ventured to make any statement as to the proportion of the population supported on home-grown food in each country. This one consideration is sufficient to render the whole estimate so uncertain that its force in argument is greatly reduced. And when it is further considered that a very large quantity of

the produce of French agriculture is exported, in the shape of wine, brandy, and silk, to England and all parts of the world, while England produces hardly anything but food, we think it may fairly be said that the argument from the relative proportions of the agricultural populations has no value whatever.

It must be remembered, too, that France is not a good specimen of the system of "petite culture." It would be much fairer to compare English agriculture with that of some of the countries where peasant proprietorship is in a healthier condition—the Channel Islands, for example, or Norway. But this is a subject on which volumes have been written, and it is impossible to discuss it fully within our limits. The best treatise on this special question, is, probably, Thornton's *Plea for Peasant Properties*; and the reader will find the results of the latest investigations summed up in the second book of Mr. Mill's *Political Economy*. It may be admitted that there are certain causes which tend to render cultivation on the small scale less effective in proportion to the labour employed, than on the large. These are chiefly difficulties in obtaining mechanical aid to labour, and a certain want of economy in the matter of farm buildings, conveyance to market, and the like. It is true that a farm of twenty acres will apparently require far more buildings in proportion to its size, than one of a thousand acres. But it must be remembered that some part of the building on the small farm is really accommodation for the labourers employed on it, (though these are not *called* by that name, being the peasant and his family,) and this must be set off against the labourer's residence for the large farm. Still there will be a disproportion in the matter of building, which will be in favour of the larger establishment. So there will be an advantage in the large scale of conveyance to market, and in other matters which may be called incidental and auxiliary; and of course where steam ploughs, reaping machines, and other machinery, are employed, the larger establishment will have an obvious superiority. But in the ordinary operations, this superiority, if it exists at all, is by no means marked. Possibly there may be some advantage in employing a number of labourers all in the same operation at once; but it does not very clearly appear that they have any advantage over an equal number of independent peasants working each at his own patch of land. But probably the chief superiority of the large farmer over the peasant lies in this, that the large farmer is in



that, at all events, there is no very marked superiority in the productiveness of the large over the small farms.

We will now proceed to the other inquiry stated above—whether, under the system of capitalist farming, the *distribution* of wealth is in a healthy condition; and, if not, whether any remedy can be applied to its defects.

It will be at once admitted that the possession of the soil by capitalists, in areas many times too large to be cultivated by a single family, renders necessary the employment of hired labourers. Now, field labour, on the whole, is that which requires least skill, so long, that is, as the labour is confined to the execution of mechanical acts, without the labourer's taking part in the intelligent direction of his own labour to a given end. The farmer who superintends and manages all, does indeed find occasion for developing intelligence of no mean kind; but the mere acts of ploughing, sowing, harrowing, weeding, reaping, hedging, and ditching, tending cattle or sheep, and such like, require nothing beyond a certain amount of physical strength, endurance, and faculty of imitation. Hence, the wages of agricultural labour are lower than the wages of almost every other kind of labour. There is less power of saving, less stimulus to improve their condition, and consequently less motive to restrain multiplication; and, besides all this, a lower degree of intelligence is developed in these labourers than in almost any other class. So also their standard of living is lower; and they are the last to perceive any relation between the rate of wages and the increase or diminution of their numbers. This relation, indeed, is only dimly seen as yet by any class of wage-paid workers; but it may safely be affirmed that it is utterly unknown to the agriculturist. So that not only is the farm labourer the worst paid (which he might be, and yet enjoy a sufficiency of comfort), but his condition inevitably tends to pauperism, and is continually falling into it.

It may be said that the above statement applies to all industries *mutatis mutandis*, and not to agricultural labour alone. Wherever there is a large capital applied to production on the great scale, there will be hired labour; and wherever there is a tendency to over-population, there will be a tendency to pauperism.

We admit that the question ultimately resolves itself into one of population. If the community multiplies faster than the means of support increase, it will become poor. If any



class increases faster than its special means of support, it will become poor. The question before us is, how the class employed in agriculture can be taught not to pauperise itself.

It is a well known fact that a high standard of comfort tends to produce habits of prudence. The desire to enjoy permanently, and to increase, one's customary comforts and business ; the desire to provide against sickness, accident, and old age ; and the desire to secure a comfortable living to one's children, are motives which actuate almost all men, though in widely different degrees. They are motives which have played a part of the very highest importance in developing civilisation ; and they may be said to be the very main springs of human action, as far as the science of Political Economy is concerned.

Now, the development of prudence is only possible where the results of a man's actions are capable of being foreseen, and in some measure controlled, by the man himself. Saving, for example, is of no use when some one may come and take away your savings against your will. Industry is without much motive when it goes to enrich some one else, and leaves the owner of the labour exactly where it found him. But supposing these contingencies guarded against, still prudence in a labourer is impossible, or, at any rate, difficult, unless he foresees the results of his conduct upon the increase or diminution of his wages. Now, the rate of wages depends upon the proportion between the amount of the wage-fund and the number of the labourers. In the case of ordinary labourers, the wage-fund is a vague, unknown quantity, invisible to the labourer himself. All he knows is that wages rise and fall : and he may possibly obtain a dim idea of the fact that numbers and competition may have to do with this rise and fall, by seeing himself underbid in his own local market for employment. But when his wage-fund takes the definite and concrete shape of a piece of land which he is to till, and from whose produce he is to maintain himself, the aspect of things changes. The relation between population and wages then becomes thus far at least clear—that if he divides his land among several children, each of them will be poorer in proportion to the increase of their numbers. This, if there be any prudence in his character, is a direct check upon undue multiplication. This meets one of the common objections to peasant farming. It is said that peasant farming leads to over-population and consequent sub-division of land into parcels too small to be effectively cultivated. Now, it is perfectly true that where a class in possession of land has

a tendency to multiply, and where it is usual, or legally compulsory, to divide estates among all the children, land will be broken up into very small parcels. But it is not true that the system of peasant farming is the cause of the tendency to overpopulate. If what we have said above be true, it must be actually a check on the tendency. It is not pretended that the check will be always effectual. And it certainly will not operate, unless the peasant farmer is assured that he and his will benefit by prudence and self-control. If the benefits can be taken away by the will of another, the prudence and self-control will not be exercised. So also with the desire of accumulating capital, and the willingness to use such capital for improving land. No farmer, capitalist, or peasant, will care to save, or to invest his savings in his land, under an insecure tenure or a rack-rent.

We must here guard against a misconception common among persons who discuss economic questions without understanding them. We do not mean to say, nor does any economic writer that we know of, that peasant proprietorship, or peasant farming with fixed tenure, will infallibly produce prudence. We are perfectly well aware that habits may have been formed which no change of circumstances will immediately eradicate. There are races among whom early marriage is a religious obligation. Such races would, and do, multiply rapidly under any system of land tenure. But it is an ascertained fact that even these races do not marry so early, nor multiply so fast, under peasant proprietorship as under tenancy-at-will. We shall have to illustrate this fact further on, when we come to the special subject of land tenure in India. All we need say at present is, that Political Economy claims only to point out the tendency of peasant proprietorship (or fixity of tenure) to check that increase of population which leads to pauperism, and to mitigate, even if it does not neutralise, the habits which lead to overpopulation, where such habits exist. Briefly, economic science teaches this, that the peasant proprietor, or farmer with fixed tenure, has a motive for prudence, which may indeed be overpowered by counteracting causes, but which still exists, and has some weight; whereas the cottier, or the common labourer, has none, or, at all events, none comparable in force and visibility.

This being the case, it seems to us a mistake to expect that an immediate improvement can be effected by turning a community of tenants-at-will into a community of peasant proprietors. The habits of centuries, which have grown into a

national character, cannot be changed in a day, or even in a generation.

It may even be that such a measure would appear at first to produce actual mischief. It would not be until the habits of imprudence had been conquered, that the benefit of the change would begin to be felt.

One of the evils to which a change of the kind mentioned would be very likely to give rise, is sub-letting. And, indeed, it is a stock objection to peasant proprietors, that they have a tendency to turn into petty landlords. When they do, we fully admit that they constitute the most mischievous sort of landlords. But it is not every community of peasant proprietors that does this. Such communities, indeed, are the exception. Where anything of the kind has taken place, it will be found that some or all of the conditions are always present. In the first place, the sub-letting peasant belongs to a race in which labour is despised, and in which leisure is counted a chief luxury. Love of power is frequently characteristic of such races. In the second place, it is very likely that the sub-letting individuals are not properly peasant farmers at all,\* but owners or lessees of land which is extensive enough to require the assistance of hired labourers to cultivate. Where this is the case, and if there is sufficient competition for land to make it worth a pretty high rent, a lazy or ignorant owner, or one who possesses insufficient capital, is likely to choose to let the whole or part of it, instead of cultivating it. Or, thirdly, it may be that the so-called sub-tenant is practically a serf—a case by no means uncommon in India.

But sub-letting, like sub-division, ultimately resolves itself into a question of population. And population depends very much upon national character, which itself is formed by many causes, the tenure of land being one, and a very important one, though not all-important in this point, as political economists are falsely accused of asserting.

It seems, then, that capitalist farming has an advantage though a slight one, in regard to production, and peasant proprietorship a decided advantage as regards distribution. Cottier tenancy-at-will is good for neither one nor the other. The position of a peasant farmer with a secure tenure is far more

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\* It is a common blunder to confound Irish "middlemen" with peasant farmers holding long leases, and to assert that Irish farmers once possessed fixity of tenure, and only used it to sub-let. The "middleman" was not a peasant. In England he might have prospered as a Capitalist farmer, but having no skill and no capital, and a great deal of spurious ambition, he became a petty landlord instead.

calculated to develop intelligence, prudence, and self-control, than that of a day-labourer or a tenant-at-will. And, therefore, the existence of a class of such peasants along with capitalist farmers and day-labourers, and holding an intermediate position between the two, appears to be an admirable economic condition for raising the standard of living among day-labourers, and correcting the imperfections in the matter of the distribution of wealth, which have been shown above to attach to the system of large farms.

It might, I think, be reasonably hoped, that the existence of such a class would tend to develop among day-labourers the precise qualities in which they are now most wanting. Members of the day-labouring class would be stimulated to strive for a place among such farmers,—a place where the kind of knowledge and experience they already possessed would be of use to them in bettering their condition in life. And if peasant farmers exerted themselves, as they probably would do, to become capitalists, it is likely that a constant ascent in the social scale would begin to take place, and to produce effects highly beneficial to the community.

What we have said is undoubtedly open to the objection that a system in which large farms and small were carried on side by side never has existed; and that there are very great difficulties attaching to the working of any such system. It is often urged, and no doubt with considerable force, that to introduce peasant properties into England,\* for example, where great estates and great farms are the rule, would only result in throwing a number of small properties into the market, to be brought up and annexed by the nearest great proprietor. England is, however, in this respect wholly exceptional. Circumstances in her political and social history have given a peculiar value to land, with which its use as an instrument of production has nothing to do.

On the other hand, France, assumed, though we think wrongly, to be the typical country of a peasant proprietary, has, at all events, shown no tendency to abandon the system in favour of the great farms alleged by some English writers to be so much more productive.

But this only shows that the popular method of referring every question of this kind to a naked comparison between France and England is utterly fallacious and misleading.

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† As we have already stated, when we refer to England, we do so for illustration only, and without any attempt to treat of English policy.

It may, however, be assumed that if there is a real economic advantage in large farms, they will come into existence by the natural operation of economic laws, starting from a peasant proprietary, in at least as healthy a way as if they were the result of the letting of their estates by great landlords. It may, in a certain sense, be said that a healthy condition of tenures is more likely to be reached by beginning with a peasant proprietary than in any other way. For in this way it is pretty certain that capital will employ itself in consolidating farms to the extent demanded by the requirements of production, and to that extent only. In other words, the cultivators will be much better judges of the extent to which consolidation is required, than the class whose primary concern in the matter is to get rent.

The propositions maintained in the preceding pages may be briefly summarised as follows :—

The community, as the ultimate owner of the land, may assert, and in some cases ought to assert, its ownership, through the instrumentality of the State, and may receive, and in some cases ought to receive, a substantial portion of the rent of land.

There is no economic necessity for the existence of a class of landowners whose primary privilege is the receipt of the rent. Such classes have rendered, in certain cases, political services, but have not habitually rendered the economic services which alone would entitle them to absolute ownership. They have, in some instances, actually stood in the way of others in rendering such services ; and their position places them under temptations to neglect their duties.

On the other hand, they are not necessarily mischievous ; and when they are working well, and their existence is in harmony with the other institutions of their country, morality and general policy forbid revolutionary attacks on them.

With regard to the actual cultivators, permanency of tenure is an indispensable requisite, both to the well-being of the cultivator himself, and to his efficiency as a producer. Holders of large farms, as being more or less capitalists, and as being almost universally found in a society where there are many forms of industry, can generally hold their own against landlords, and secure a measure of permanency, though not always a sufficient one. Peasants cannot do this, because peasant farming is almost always found in states of society where agriculture is the sole industry. Hence, the peasant cannot

be left to what is called, erroneously, "freedom of contract," in the same way as the capitalist.

Peasant proprietors cannot be proved inferior to farmers as producers, and the *status* of the peasant proprietor is greatly superior to that of the agricultural labourer. It seems probable that the admixture of peasant properties with large farms would be a highly favourable condition both for the production and for the distribution of agricultural wealth; and it seems also probable that the approach to that condition would be best made from the side of a *régime* of peasant properties.

As the political services of landlords have been relied on in defence against criticisms on economic grounds, so the supposed connexion of peasant proprietary with certain forms of political life has been used as a reply to allegations of its economic advantage. It is admitted above, that a landlord class (that of England) has rendered services of no mean value to liberty and good government. But it is impossible to urge that those services were the effect of the economic condition of the class.

On the other hand, peasant proprietary is commonly identified with bureaucracy and despotic Government. Switzerland and Norway are cases in point to prove that the connexion is not necessary. France and Prussia are apparent instances the other way. But France and Prussia were governed by despots and administered by bureaux long before either had a peasant proprietary; and there seems to be a possibility that both nations at some future time may attain free institutions, of which they already possess a semblance and a germ, without abandoning their existing systems of tenure.

The most bureaucratically administered empire in Europe, that of Russia, is only now beginning to think of instituting a peasant proprietary.

It would seem as if bureaucracy constituted a stage through which the nations of continental Europe are compelled to pass on their way to more liberal institutions. In France and in some other continental countries, feudalism held on until it became an anachronism and an absurdity. When it was at last superseded, the only substitute that appeared possible, perhaps the only one really possible, was government by means of professionally trained administrators. English history has, in this respect, as in so many others, been altogether singular and exceptional. Here a democratic spirit gradually infused itself into our institutions, but feudalism has never been formally superseded; and though its forms are not now connected with

a vestige of real power, they continue to influence the channels through which the real power is exercised. What is called local self-government, is a relic either of feudalism or of the popular franchises which the middle ages established as checks on feudalism. The forms of English administration are derived from the time when the administrators were of necessity either members of the feudal aristocracy, or representatives of local popular privileges. To this day, the command of the militia, the local administration of justice, the management of highways, the police of towns, the relief of the poor, and even the primary education of the people, are all primarily in the hands either of landowners or of vestries and municipal boards. It may almost be said that there is no class of professional administrators, for the bar is something very much wider than a training school for judges.

It is not part of our plan to discuss the relative merits of these systems. It will suffice to say, that as the English system is the product of a very peculiar history, so it is not possible consciously to re-produce it, be its merits what they may. The attempt has been made, and is a conspicuous failure. The whole apparatus of English feudalism, with its great landlords, its justices of the peace, its municipal and parochial systems, was imported bodily into Ireland centuries ago. Every one knows how it has flourished there.

In short, it would seem that institutions which are made for a people, and do not grow out of the natural progress of the people, must needs assume a bureaucratic form. And this will be more especially the case when the institutions are made for a dependency in an inferior stage of civilisation, by a governing nation in a higher one. Nothing could hinder the English Government in India from being bureaucratic; the abolition of peasant proprietary certainly would not, any more than the maintenance of that institution would make the Government more bureaucratic than it is.

As we have already suggested, the history of the cases in which peasant proprietary is associated with bureaucracy, as well as the cases in which it is not, both alike go to prove that the connexion, where it exists, is not a relation of cause and effect. But there is another aspect of the political tendency of peasant proprietary, in which it has been the subject of much hostile criticism. It is said that even where it is not associated with despotic and bureaucratic Governments (and of course still more where it is), it tends to produce an equality of

wealth and social condition, which results in a level uniformity of character destructive of individual originality and energy.

If this be so, it is a serious drawback to the advantages of the distribution of wealth. But national characters are not caused by tenures of land alone, but by many other concurring causes. The tenure of land is itself but one of many conditions which together go to make up the general economic state of a community. It seems probable that where there are many resources of industry, and more especially where foreign and maritime trade is extensive, there will be a greater development of energy than where the community is wholly dependent upon the soil. It would carry us too far into the region of history to investigate the concomitant conditions of energy and originality as displayed in literature, in art, in science, in commerce, and in the arts of life generally, by the nations which have attained the highest eminence in these particulars. But this much may be said, that they have always been either commercial or military communities, and very often both. Now, the conditions that make commercial and military communities are many, and they may or may not co-exist with peasant proprietary; but there is nothing in peasant proprietary incompatible with them. A favourable maritime situation, the possession of good harbours or great navigable rivers, and other conditions of similar nature, are those which seem most likely to develop a commercial community. In these conditions there is nothing that bears upon landed-tenure in any way. So military genius is for the most part fostered by physical conditions of race. Mountain-tribes are apt to be more vigorous than the inhabitants of plains; and when brought into contact with the latter, they are tempted to assume a hostile attitude, and to develop into warriors. But mountaineers, in so far as they are agriculturists, are nearly always peasant proprietors, or something very like it. These illustrations are merely intended to suggest the method of the enquiry: it would be impossible to discuss in any detail the physical and social antecedents of national character.

Briefly, the influence of peasant proprietary may be said to narrow the national character, when it tends to tie down industry to the sole occupation of tilling the soil. But in order that it may have this tendency, the obstacles in the way of engaging in any other industry must be considerable, and communication with other countries must be difficult. And if these things be the case, it seems likely that a stunted and feeble type of



character would exist in any circumstances, and under any tenure of land.

Peasant proprietorship may, then, it seems, be acquitted of the two political faults commonly brought against it,—antagonism to national freedom, and to national and individual greatness. In truth, the conditions of both these things are as yet but little known. Freedom and greatness have hitherto been plants of apparently accidental growth ; and it is easier, in our present state of knowledge, to determine the conditions of material, than of moral, well-being.

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## ART V.—PARASNATH AS A CIVIL SANATARIUM.

*Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXXVIII Papers relating to a Sanatorium upon Mount Parasnath. 1861.*

PEOPLE have long been indulging in India in the dream that, after a certain number of years, the European got acclimatised, and could bear the effects of the damp and heat. Sad medical experience has, however, dispelled this pleasing delusion, and the foreigner must be now content to batle with the climate, taking whatever alleviations there may be, and especially by occasional visits to hill-stations, which are to India what the sea-side or the Rhine is to the London cockney. What is the Calcutta ditcher to provide as a substitute for the Saturday trip to the sea-coast? Nyni Tal, Simla, and the Nilgiris, answer admirably when a person can spare a month at least; so will Darjiling *when* the rail shall be made to it: but men of business, or those having limited incomes, or with fixed duties in the plains, cannot avail themselves of places like Darjiling, excellent as they are. They have neither time nor money for a lengthened stay, and a short one is fagging and dear. The Rajmahal Hills are deadly after March, and are too low. Parasnath is the refore the *only* place accessible to Calcutta and the tracts bordering the East Indian Railway line as far as Monghyr, at a small expenditure of time and money. It is then for many either Parasnath or the Bengal vapor-bath.

London, which is the heart of the commercial world, and where every minute of business is counted, where the hours are golden, yet has those occasional holidays at Easter, Christmas, Whitsuntide, when the over-worked statesman, merchant, or philanthropist, for a few days throw off the trammels of occupation, and seek rest and relaxation, or more extended holidays, when in the long vacation they go to one of those watering-places which stud the English Coast, or visit the Boulevards of Paris or Vienna, steam up the Rhine or down the Danube. London has its season as Paris and all great cities have. If these European cities with congenial climates have their season, of how much greater importance is it that the hard-worked European living in Lower Bengal, in a climate in the rains, a medium between a Russian vapor-bath and the swamps of Cayenne, should have his period of relaxation and rest. Calcutta, in future, with its September and October miasma must have a pause, if it wishes to work effectively the other ten months of the year. The heads of office surely might go in

those months to the hills, not only for sanitary reasons, but because work can be done more efficiently in a cooler climate than "in the most frightful combination of heat, stagnant moisture, and dirt on the face of the earth." The railway with its tourist-ticket or the coasting-steamer afford facilities to the hills; but where is the man or his family to go to, who feel seedy, nervous, depressed, and just need *occasionally a few days'* relaxation within reach of a day's post of Calcutta or its neighbourhood?

Nine hours by rail take the citizen of Madras to the lovely scenery of the Shivaroy Hills. He can leave Madras by the evening train, and breakfast on the refreshing breezy summit of the Shivaroyas. The same time will bring him to the healthful plateau of Bangalore. Bombay has sanatoria: *Puna* within nine hours rail; *Mahabal shar*, 24 hours distant; *Matheran*, only 7 hours, 2,000 feet high, less than half the height of Parasnath; *Singarkh*, 11 hours from Bombay; and *Purandur*, 12 hours. The Punjab and North-West Provinces are well supplied with sanatoria within 12 hours' travelling distance of stations.

Now Parasnath, in a limited way, can supply this want to the party in quest of a week or two of change. Go two days, before starting, to Greenway's Inland Transit Company, 4, Hare Street, and engage a dāk-ghari to meet you on arriving at the Barrakur. Below are the terms.\* Leaving

\* INLAND TRANSIT COMPANY.

FROM THE BARRAKUR	Distance, Miles	Upward Dāk. Rs.	Upward and Downward Dāks. Rs.	Probable time in Transit. Hours.	REMARKS.
To the foot of the Parasnath Hills, or Duni Dāk Bungalow ...	56	40	60	12	Dāk Bungalow.
„ the Buggodur Dāk Bungalow ...	70	45	70	15	Ditto.
„ the Burhi Dāk Bungalow ...	100	45	80	20	Ditto.
„ Hazaribagh* ...	124	60	100	25	Ditto.
„ Sherghotty † ...	142	80	130	36	Ditto.
„ Gya, via Dobay† ...	156	85	140	40	Ditto.
„ Gya, via Sherghotty ...	164	90	150	44	Ditto.

\* Munshi Stations.

† Carriages horsed to Burhi, thence propelled by men to Sherghotty and Gya.

Calcutta by the 11 A. M. mail-train, you reach the Barrakur about 6 P. M., get into the dāk-ghari, and you arrive at Parasnath the following morning by 6. The ascent is completed by 8 o'clock. Should you travel with two others, and take a return-ticket by dāk-ghari, the whole journey from Parasnath to Calcutta will cost each Rs. 25, and *vice versa*, while the dāk-travelling is through a beautiful country, the Switzerland of Bengal. When the Ranigunj route on the opening of the Chord Line becomes the main one, the rail journey of 143 miles may be performed in 5 hours by express; and as in the Punjab one can travel on a mail-cart 9 miles an hour for less than 2 annas a mile, the journey from the Barrakur to the foot of Parasnath (58 miles) can be made at this rate even now in 7 hours, and the whole from Calcutta in 12 hours for Rs. 13, provided the public take this question up. Surely Bengal, our oldest acquisition, ought to have cheap travelling as well the Punjab so recently acquired. Darjiling, until the rail is made some seven years hence, involves a three days' journey at a cost, at the least, of Rs. 120, and in the rains rather dangerous from malaria.\*

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The above charges are for an *entire* carriage, conveying four passengers with 2 maunds or 160 lbs. of luggage, whether one, two, three, or four persons occupy the carriage.

Passengers to pay toll at the Barrakur, as well as hire of coolies, *if required*.

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### BULLOCK-TRAIN.

Goods, packages, luggage, mess-stores, &c., despatched on the 1st and 15th of every month, by bullock-train, to Hazaribagh.

W. GREENWAY,  
*Proprietor, J. T. Company.*

\* The Chord Line, which it is expected will be completed by January 1870, will, with its branch to Kurhumbali, 210 miles from Calcutta, carry the traveller to Kurhumbali, *within 16 miles of Parasnath*. A good road is proposed from that for Hazaribagh passing Parasnath; and with horse-dāk the foot of the mountain may be reached in 10 hours from Calcutta.

The mineral resources of the districts west of the Barrakur are so great and so undeveloped that they may require ere long a light railway towards Parasnath. Dr. Oldham in his report to the Secretary of State, 1868, states, on this subject:—"There is a very large and important field of coal to the west of the Barrakur, extending beyond the village of Gopalgunj on the Trunk Road, or about ten miles from the banks of the Barrakur, at or near Taldangah. This field will, when once opened up, demand railroad accomodation. It is at the same time most likely that questions of further and more distant extension of the railroad will come under consideration."

Parasnath, the subject of this paper, is the highest of the range of hills separating Lower Bengal from Behar, through which the Grand Trunk Road runs. The mass of the hill overhangs the Grand Trunk Road from the 189th to the 198th mile-stone from Calcutta. It stands off from the range on its south-eastern face, thus overlooking the plains between the valleys of the Damuda and Barrakur Rivers. Its summit is 4,624 feet above the sea.

We shall now give the chief circumstances which led to this mountain being known. It was unvisited for ages, except by Jain travellers, who went on pilgrimage to the place. Colonel Franklin, a learned antiquarian, visited Parasnath in 1819, and has published an account of his journey. He made the ascent by the pilgrim route, to Madhuban, whose temples he thus describes in his work on the Jains:—"They consist of large square brick-buildings with a dome in the centre and smaller domes at the corners, which are surmounted by cullises of copper gilt, which shine like burnished gold; in front of each temple is a nabutkhana or gallery for music. From sun-rise to sun-set you hear nothing but the incessant din of their music. The ascent to the mountain commences by a narrow steep path surrounded by the thickest forest. As you ascend, the summit of the mountain presents a stupendous appearance; at intervals you perceive the summit of Parasnath appearing in bluff jagged peaks, eight in number, and towering to the clouds. From an opening in the forest the view is inexpressibly grand, the wide extent of the Jungle Terry appearing as if beneath your feet, and looking like the surface of a pictured landscape; the summit, emphatically termed by the Jains Asmeed Sikur, or the peak of bliss, composes a table-land, flanked by twenty small Jain temples, situate on the craggy peaks and in different parts of the mountain."

The next visitor was A. P., an official of Government, who went to what he calls this princely mountain in November 1827. He wrote:—

"All dāk-travellers who have journeyed along the new Military Road to Benares, must be familiar with the name of this mountain; for they can scarcely have neglected to enquire the title of that remarkable line of hills which haunts them like a shadow from *Bancora* to *Kutumsandy*. Coming into view at the former place, it grows in height and breadth until it appears frowning in front of the bungalow at *Chass*, at a distance of — koss. From this place, travelling westward, its numerous and craggy points slowly recede from view, until from the high ground at *Hazaribagh*,

it becomes a faint but picturesque outline, catching tints from the sky in front of the setting sun. From the telegraph on the top of *Tutgi Ghaut* the mountain is seen in the most favourable manner; its broad base rises abruptly from the distant plain, and slopes gradually at the extreme sides, until the outline breaks into numerous peaks, that from the corner of the hill seem shooting their arrowy points at the heavens. From the plain to within a few yards of each pinnacle, and even in some of the pinnacles themselves, the mountain is thickly covered with magnificent trees, whose round heads take various tints from the changing seasons of the year, and even from the hourly variations of light between dawn and darkness. Seen from the above point of view, we can scarcely help respecting the eye and taste that first selected this noble pile as the imaginary residence of a deity.

"I approached *Parasnath* from the north, and its towering heads, like the eye of a watchful monarch, overlooked my winding route from the time I entered the province of *Kurreehdeea*, from the little pergunnah of *Kodurma*, or, as it is called by *Rennel*, *Korumma*, which joins its north-western corner. The road from the village of *Kurreehdeea* to *Palgunjo*, where the holy lands commence, affords a constant variety of ascent and descent, passing through as wild a country, perhaps, as the Continent of *India* contains."

Captain Beadle, when Executive Engineer on the Grand Trunk Road, visited *Parasnath* in 1846, and took various sketches, which the Government have published in their valuable work, "*Parasnath as a Sanatorium.*" He states regarding it:—

"Urged by Sir John Cheape, I sent a description of the trip to the *Huraru* Press, where it was published.

"The great drawback at that time to effecting a lodgment on the mountain was the *Pachete Rajah*, and had reference to the religious character of the hill-top, which at every eminence is crowned with a little temple.

"The *Rajah* has forfeited his estates, and the obstacle is in a measure removed; but the Jain monastery at *Modoobundh*, and the temples, &c., have still to be considered.

"No one lives on the mountain. When the thermometer was standing at 94° in the bungalow at the foot, it was not higher than 81° on the hill-top; the mercury was at 79° when I reached the summit at midnight on the 15th May 1846, and at 5 A. M. on the 16th it had fallen to 68°; on the 17th May the mercury stood at 67° in the early morning.

"The rock is syenite and good for rubble building purposes. I saw no vermin nor reptiles on the summit; there is fine sal timber in the lower portions of the mountain. I am sure that the climate will be found very beneficial to sick men during the hot weather. In May 1846 I found the transition from the plains to the hill-top a delicious one.

"There is ample room for barracks to contain a 100 men, and there is sufficient water of an excellent pure kind."

Sir Joseph Hooker, who was sent by Government on a botanical mission to India, where he spent three years, visited *Parasnath* in 1848. He describes it, as seen from *Gya*, "appearing against the grey cold sky in the form of a beautiful broad cone, with a rugged peak, of a deeper grey than the sky.

It is a remarkably handsome mountain, sufficiently lofty to be imposing, rising out of an elevated country, the slope of which upward to the base of the mountain, though imperceptible, is really considerable, and it is surrounded by lesser hills of just sufficient elevation to set it off."

Dr. Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, examining in 1862 the Damuda Valley and the Birbhum iron ore-producing districts, notices Parasnath thus:—"Doubling round the base of Parasnath Hill on the west side, we ascended to the summit from Muddubund, and were immensely delighted with the glorious scenery of the mountain itself and the striking contrast which it afforded, after having been for weeks among the almost unbroken plains of Bengal. The wonderful beauty and richness of its thickly wooded sides, broken up by the cool grey of the projecting rocks, whose precipitous cliffs cast their deep shadows around, with the almost boundless view from its summit, stretching away over the billowy tides to the west and north-west, and the unbroken plains to the east; the clearness of the atmosphere above, while all below is shrouded in a hazy mist called up by the overheated air of the plains: all combined to render it a scene of amazing beauty, and to impress one forcibly with the idea of the desirability of such a resort being made accessible to Europeans as a relief from the destructive glare and broiling heats of Calcutta. From Parasnath we passed northwards through a country composed entirely of gneissose rocks, with intercalated beds of hornblende slates, and hornblende rocks, with occasional granite, and thick quartzose veins, and trap dykes, to Curhurbaree coal-field."

Major Maxwell, Officiating Superintending Engineer, was sent to examine Parasnath in 1858. He reports:—

"When the East Indian Railway is completed to the Barrakur River, 24 hours will amply suffice to convey the invalid or the visitor to Parasnath, or, if necessary, to carry him back to business or to the English steamer at Calcutta; indeed, by an active person and with suitable railway arrangements, and perhaps eventually a mail-coach from the Barrakur to Madhoopoor or Topchancee, it could be then done in 12 hours, the rail-trip occupying 5, and the rest of the journey 7 hours.

"In the matter of supplies, any amount of luxuries could, of course, be conveyed to the sanatorium without difficulty as soon as the road up the hill is made.

"During the present year two officers of Her Majesty's 99th Regiment spent a considerable time there, viz., from 1st April till 8th June. One of these, to whom I applied, Lieutenant Clayton, has kindly written to me as follows:—

" I and a brother officer lived on the top of the hill from about the 1st of April till the 8th of June; during which time we found the climate beautifully cool and pleasant.

" The top of the hill abounds, with wood; there is also a spring of good water; the soil is of a black, light, loamy nature, and, I should imagine, well adapted to gardening purposes. My companion and myself enjoyed capital health the whole time we were there, with the exception of a fever that my friend caught by imprudently sleeping out in the jungle at night.

" There is no lack of animal life on the hill. Birds abound, and afforded the two officers mentioned very fair sport during their stay. Tigers are found in this jungle occasionally, but these would disappear before the sound of the axe and the pursuits of civilization. The jungle also, which has been alluded to as likely to be unhealthy, would no doubt rapidly diminish, as it was required for building, burning, &c."

He visited it again in 1859, and states :—

" Within the past few years I have seen something of hill-stations and their wants for the residence of Europeans, and I feel convinced that Parasnath has only to become known to us to be a suitable, delightful, and healthy spot to retire to. The ranges of hills adjoining and extending to the north-west of Parasnath would admit of roads being made round them, joining the station ones at very trifling outlay, and afford means for exercise and pleasure; in fact, I think that many miles of level road could be constructed round and about Parasnath; and here I would refer to its easy approach from Calcutta."

Dr. Thompson, and W. Atkinson, Esq., Secretary to the Asiatic Society, visited it in April 1855, and in 1856 the former states :—

" I know few hills of its size which surpass it in natural beauty, though from its isolation the views from the summit are deficient in the grandeur which characterizes mountain-scenery.

" The air on the hill is always delightful, fresh, elastic, and exhilarating, and offers the greatest contrast to the steamy heat of Calcutta. A small station there would afford a most grateful retreat from the town, and I sincerely hope the scheme of a sanatorium may be carried out.

" Dr. Anderson and I agreed in opinion in November last, that a sanatorium on Parasnath would be of great value for individuals from the damp, relaxing climate of Bengal. The climate is dry and bracing, and the temperature always 10 or 12 degrees lower than in Calcutta.

" The elevated part of the ridge, safe above fever heat, that is, above 4,000 feet, is about two miles long, but it is not in all parts eligible for building sites. There is, however, ample room for barracks for 100 men, and for at least a dozen moderate-sized bungalows.

" Water will be the principal difficulty, but it is not more distant than at Mussooree or Simla in the dry weather; and with artificial banks, water collected during the rains might be kept during the cold and dry weather."

Captain Young, Officiating Chief Engineer, visited it in October 1859, to select a few good sites for bungalows, and to fix upon an accessible road to the summit. He reports :—

" The ground is not of a very compact, rocky nature, so that it would be cleared and levelled without much difficulty. There is no want of soil upon it, which would be good for gardens and useful as a cement in building.



"The thermometer, which had been 84° at the Top Chancy bungalow at noon, stood this day at noon at 69°, a difference of 15°; but, though cool and pleasant, it was not decidedly or unpleasantly cold without a fire either in the day or night.

"It is, however, an opinion with some medical men, of whom I believe Dr. R. Martin is one, that it is not necessary or advantageous to locate Europeans at very great heights to ensure a beneficial result to their health, and in this opinion, I confess, I concur. There is more tendency to healthy exercise, undoubtedly at a moderate elevation and comparatively level ground, than on a chilly and precipitous hill-top.

"I saw no wild animals, or signs of any. The weather and the nature of the jungle at this season were not favourable certainly, but the natives express no fear on the subject; indeed, they say that there are very few, and that no instance of visitors to the temple being hurt or carried off is known."

Impressed by these favourable reports, the next step taken by Government was to arrange about securing land, which had been claimed by the Rani of Palgunj and some zemindars.

Major Maxwell and Captain Dawson were sent again to report in April 1860 by the order of the Lieutenant-Governor, who took a deep interest in the question.

Lieutenant-Colonel Young again reports to Government in 1860:—"The hill had been visited from time to time by many Europeans, being very favourably situated for this purpose, as the road runs immediately at its base. It is believed that European gentlemen have spent several days on the hill during every month of the year, and at no season has it been found to be feverish, or otherwise than perfectly healthy. In the month of June, in the day time, Major Maxwell found that the thermometer on the hill did not rise above 73°, and showed a minimum difference of 15° as compared with the heat in the plains below, where, owing to the rain, it was moderately cool for the season." In regard to water, and in other respects, his report was equally favourable.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal visited Parasnath in 1860, and thus records his opinion:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor, during his tour in January of this year, in company with the Officiating Chief Engineer, the Superintending Engineer, the Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, and other officers, ascended the hill, pitched tents on level ground at the top, and remained there two days, during which the whole of the summit of the eastern part of the hill and the neighbouring slopes were inspected.

"The Lieutenant-Governor was struck with the number and excellence of the building sites on this part of the hill, which exceeded what he had been led to expect. The water is excellent, but it is believed not to be enough for more than sixty or eighty men. The beauty of the place, and the purity of the air, were remarkable; and he was fully as favourably impressed by the capabilities of that part of the hill for the location of a small sana-

tarium as the officers of the Department of Public Works who had examined it.

"There is no doubt that sufficient space exists on the eastern division of the hill for barracks for a few hundred men and for several pleasant bungalows. But there seems not to be enough water on this part of the hill for any large number of men.

"The general elevation of the building ground is four thousand feet, about equal to that of Sobathoo (4,200) and of Cherra Poonjee (4,120), and not very far below that of Mount Aboo (4,500). The highest peak on this division of the hill (marked Observatory on the Plan) is 4,312 feet, or 3-2 feet below the highest peak of the entire hill. The temperature by thermometer, under an open thatched shed, gave an average maximum during the last week of April of 68°. The season being one of the hottest that has been known for many years, the thermometer rose to as high as 107° in the plains below, showing a difference in the heat of the day of twenty-one degrees. While the heat was so extreme down below, Major Maxwell says that he and those with him had merely a grass temporary thatch over their heads, open on all sides, and he describes the air as refreshing and pleasant. He says that punkahs would never be required, and that during his stay the nights were very cool, even somewhat cold towards morning.

"The temperature of Parasnath seems, as might have been expected from the latitude and elevation of the two places, to be about the same as that of Cherra Poonjee; but Parasnath has the advantage of only a moderate rain-fall.

"The Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied from these reports that advantage should be taken of Parasnath for the purposes of a small sanatorium. The top will be no more than fifty-four miles from the railway terminus on the Barrakur. Thus, convalescents from Fort William, Barrackpore, Dum-Dum, Chinsurah, and Raneegeunge, can easily be sent thither. The distance from Dehree is 138 miles. This sanatorium will be much appreciated by the European public of Calcutta; and the fact of its being actually upon the chief line of internal communication in all India gives it a peculiar value.

"In a letter, No. 2243, of the 7th instant, a copy of which is forwarded, the Lieutenant-Governor directed the preliminary operations, which have commenced as before described, to be prosecuted; and he has therefore instructed the Chief Engineer to complete and perfect the road to the top in the first place, and to mark out more exactly the several building sites which have been indicated, furnishing a more correct and more detailed plan of the whole ground as soon as possible.

"The building sites are too limited in extent and number to make it advisable to sell them to private parties. To afford the greatest possible advantage to Civil and Military officers, and to private gentlemen and families requiring a short relaxation in a cool climate, the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that a few bungalows should be built, and rented on fair terms, or allowed to be built by private persons on special conditions."

In October 1860 the measure of a sanatorium received the sanction of the Governor-General. As the result, an excellent road has been made from 6 to 10 feet wide to the top 6 miles; barracks to accommodate 32 men were subsequently erected, besides barracks for three officers and their families; houses for

natives, store-houses, walks, were made, extending five or six miles in various directions.

Lieutenant-Colonel Beadle, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Beugal, in the Public Works Department, officially reports of his visit in September 1861 :—

“This road (the newly made road from the foot to the summit) is 6 miles and 2,000 feet in length, of which two and a half miles have been made ten feet wide, and the remainder six feet wide. The ascent is easy, the greatest incline being  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in 100 feet, which is two and a half feet less than some parts of the Danwah Pass on the Grand Trunk Road.

“The Secretary of State has remarked that Parasnath, though of limited extent, appeared in other respects to be suited for a sanatorium, and that any remaining doubt on the subject would be cleared up if a few thatched tents were erected and occupied during the hot season; and that in the meanwhile no permanent buildings should be commenced. The experimental measure has now been fairly and fully carried out. The Lieutenant-Governor resolved to try the climate himself; and tents having been pitched for his accommodation, he left Calcutta on the 17th of April, and remained on the top of the hill till the 20th May, when a fire accidentally breaking out destroyed the three tents which had been thatched, and compelled him return to the Presidency. About the 31st of May the Lieutenant-Governor returned to Parasnath, where he lived in unthatched tents, transacting business, till about the end of June; the rainy season having, for some weeks, previously set in, and very heavily.

“The results of these visits have convinced the Lieutenant-Governor that, so far as climate is concerned, no further knowledge of it can be gained, or is required. He found the air pure and bracing, whilst no sickness showed itself in his camp, or in that of Lieutenant Steel, the Engineer Officer in charge of the works, who has lived on the hill from the end of September, last year.

“The pleasant nature of the climate, and the salubrity of Parasnath, having been placed beyond a doubt, and the comparative register of the temperature on Parasnath and at Ranigunj, which has been carefully kept, proving that the temperature averages, in the afternoon, during the seven hot months of the year, 16 degrees lower than in the plains at the foot, the Lieutenant-Governor strongly urges that orders may now be issued for proceeding with the work, which was commenced and has been stopped.

“The Agent of the East Indian Railway Company having applied for a site for a barrack, the Lieutenant-Governor has set apart a convenient portion of the ground for their occupation. An hospital for the convalescent workmen and officers of the Company will accordingly be constructed at Parasnath.”

Estimates were prepared in 1861, the buildings were commenced in 1862, and Parasnath was taken up by the military authorities, not to the exclusion of, but as an addition to, Darjiling, for delicate convalescents from Calcutta, Barrackpore, Berhampore, Dum-Dum, Dinapore, to enable them to hold their ground for a time, so that men suffering from malarious fever might thus be kept out of the trying heat of the plains.

In 1864 invalids were sent; nearly all were reduced by disease, but they soon improved in appearance and increased in weight.

The Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, Dinapore Circle, visited Parasnath in May 1865, and expressed an opinion favourable to it as a sanatorium.

In 1865, 29 men of the 54th Regiment were sent to Parasnath, and remained there from April to November; it was found favourable to them, as it was to 32 men sent up in 1866, who were suffering from uncomplicated fever, from a low state of health, or from rheumatism.

In June 1866 the Officiating Principal Inspector-General of the Medical Department reported favourably regarding the results of this experiment of having within easy reach of Calcutta a place of resort for delicate men and convalescents, or for those suffering from malarious fever, in which they are kept out of the heat of the plains. Many men suffered this year from the buildings being leaky, but they were thoroughly repaired the next year.

In 1867 the buildings having been repaired, the report was more favourable to sending men there who suffered from general debility, whether or not the result of fever; those being most distinctly improved by residence on the hill during the hot season. The report in September stated nearly all the men improved both in weight and appearance, the absence of hot winds, hot air, and insects having had a favourable influence on them.

But in 1868, Parasnath was given up as a *Military* sanatorium, on the grounds that there was not a sufficient water supply for more than 60 to 80 men, and that the space was too confined to allow invalids all the exercise they wanted, and especially in the rains (there are six miles of road however)—it was too quiet, too like a penitentiary for men, who wanted a little excitement. The medical returns were unfavourable to it, except for patients only slightly ill or free from organic disease or who are suffering from debility, whether the result of fever or not; but above all the expense would be very great to give permanency to the arrangements, and provide a hospital with its Staff,—a surgery, dispensary, &c., while Darjiling was more economical for a small number of men.

In January 1868 the Military Department made over the buildings on Parasnath to the Public Works Department, consisting of the following, erected in 1865 by Major Baird, all pukka, both walls and floor, with corrugated sheet iron roofs.

				LENGTH.	BREADTH.
				<i>Feet.</i>	<i>Feet.</i>
Officers' Bungalows	...	...	...	108	48
Cook-room, 9 servants' range	...	...	...	60	20½
Commanding Officer's Cook-house	...	...	...	23½	15½
Barracks for 32 men	...	...	...	126	4½
Cook-room for do.	...	...	...	27	21
Privy	...	...	...	20	12
Commissariat Godown	...	...	...	18	13
Bakers' do.	...	...	...	23	23

These buildings cost over Rs. 80,000, and the sale of them would fetch little, as the proprietor would have in addition to maintain the roads.

The question now before Government is what to do with the buildings and the sanatarium. Government has spent more than a lakh of rupees on the place; has made pretty and healthy walks, fine barracks with their corrugated iron roofs, a good spring accessible to the station—is all this to go to ruin? Is Parasnath again to become the tigers and leopard's lair, deserted by every human being, except the Jains, in January, February, and March? Are Calcutta and the places along the East India Railway as far as Patna to lose the *only* place they can visit cheaply and easily for a few days at time?\*

The time is not yet come for a regular hotel, but were the

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\* Parasnath has lately been the scene of some litigation with respect to the claims on one side of the Rajah of Palgunj and on the other of a Jain merchant of Murshidabad to the offerings of the pilgrims.

But a question more interesting to the public is the claim set forward by the Jains to the *whole* of the hill on the ground of a sunnud given by the Emperor Akbar granting them the mountain:—"Let no one kill an animal below, or about the mountains and the places of worship and pilgrimage." This sunnud states they are also to have all of the Mounts Girnar and Abu in Guzerat, and concludes with—"May this firman shine like the sun and moon amongst the followers of the Jain Sitambar religion, as long as the sun may shine in the day with his resplendent rays, and the moon make the night delightful by the light."

Unmoved by this flowery language, the Government has rejected their petition on the ground of the sunnud not being genuine; as well as that the protection of the life of *animals* is not to be carried to an extent which will endanger the safety of human beings, as by granting the petition Parasnath would become like Gaur a fastness for the tiger and leopard. Exclude the shikari and sportsman, and the whole country suffers. The Jains are rich, and can enclose their own ground, which is near two miles away from the barracks; the barracks were built on ground reclaimed from jungle and rescued from the tiger. The sanatarium is on the western spur of the hill, while the Jain buildings are on the eastern; the pilgrims are not therefore interfered with.

buildings made over rent-free to some private party to make a beginning, it would be a great boon. The buildings might be kept up on the plan of the staging bungalows, which were once so comfortable and so popular, that the Government maintained 100 of these on the Grand Trunk Road but nearly all have been given up since the railroad has opened. Is it asking too much, then, of the authorities to let out or to maintain a large dâk-bungalow on Parasnath, the charges and sanctioned periods of occupation being somewhat greater and longer than in the old ones?

We believe the latter proposition would meet the sanction of the local authorities, and we trust the Government of Bengal may approve of a measure which would be so much *pro bono publico*, and would cost so little.

Private individuals have not means for this, and Joint Stock Companies at the present time are at a discount: let the Government make the start. Since the establishment of Parasnath, applications were made some years ago by parties in Calcutta for building sites, but the military then required the ground. Now there is an opening not only for Europeans, but for native gentlemen, who would do well to secure a site there as a retreat in hot weather. One party has applied to be allowed to take over the Government buildings on the hill rent-free for three years to be kept open by him as a hotel for the accommodation of officers, military and civil, or of other visitors to the hill, on whatever condition the Government may affix to the transfer.

Meanwhile, what is to be done in the approaching holidays? There are the buildings, but no furniture, no servants, except a man in charge, though coolies can be procured in abundance, as can supplies of fowl, rice, flour, salt, potatoes, milk, eggs. Permission to occupy the buildings must be first obtained by application to Mr. Manners, Executive Engineer at Bagode. That obtained, and the dâk-ghari secured, the visitors to Parasnath must take the following articles with them, which can easily be stowed on a dâk-ghari:—biscuit, flour to make chappatis, preserved meats, tea, coffee, sugar, candles, a camp-table and bed, a ship chair, knives and forks, spoons, cups and saucers, kettle, tea-pot, candles, soap, bath-room and bed-room necessities. Charpoys can be had at Nimya Ghaut.

But the question that naturally arises with some persons is—where is Parasnath?—what is it?—does it answer the purpose of a sub-sanatorium in being accessible easily and at a cheap rate?—does it afford accommodation, and are there any objects of interest to amuse the visitor?

We shall endeavour to answer these questions, and first as to the route. It lies by rail to Ranigunj. For the interesting places passed between Calcutta and Ranigunj, we refer to *Newman's Tourist's Guide to the Principal Stations of the East India Railway*, which contains a good map, and costs only 1 rupee eight annas. From Ranigunj,\* 122 miles from Calcutta, to the Barrakur Station, is a distance of 22 miles traversed by the rail, which has opened out various coal-mines hitherto excluded from the benefit of cheap carriage, and which yield annually more than 4,500,000 maunds of coal. It is the black country, the centre of the coal-mines, where chimneys and piles of coal are to be seen in every direction; the shafts are sunk through alluvium. As a relief to this dark prospect, the hills at Pachete and Baharinath tower aloft some 20 miles off. The *Nunia Suspension Bridge* is on the right near Assensole. We pass at *Sitarampur*, 136 miles from Calcutta, the place where the main Chord Line branches off, opening out a most romantic country, rich in mineral wealth and picturesque scenery, hitherto as little accessible to Europeans as Timbuctoo, though for ages traversed by pilgrims from the north-west to Jagannath, as well as by pack-mules conveying mica and iron. We arrive at the *Barrakur Station*, 144 miles from Calcutta. From the platform Parasnath is seen looming only 48 miles distant, rising with his giant form and conical peak, a contrast to the surrounding hills, the Sinai of the Jains.

\* Ranigunj is rendered famous by the sketches given in Dickens' *House hold Words* of Mr. Slasher, the late Henry Biddle, who did much to develop the resources of the Ranigunj District.

Dr. Oldham gives an approximate return of the coal from the Ranigunj mines in 1859.

#### GENERAL ABSTRACT.

				Maund.
Mines in work	37	I. Mines near Ranigunj	...	44,50,000
" in progress	9	II. " on Singarrun	...	22,39,000
		III. " on Nunia E. Branch	...	3,30,000
Total	46	IV. " on " Main Stream	...	6,20,000
		V. " on " W. Branch	...	3,70,000
		VI. " near junction of Damud and Barrakur	...	6,50,000
		VII. Other Mines	...	4,20,000
GRAND TOTAL				90,79,000

The dâk-ghari takes you from the station; you pass some very curious old temples, probably Jain originally, and come after half a mile's drive to the Barrakur, a river which rises in the Hazaribagh Hills, flows ten miles to the north of Parasnath, and joins the Damuda a few miles south of this place. It is shallow, except when swollen by the rains into a hill torrent. There is a good ferry, however, under the management of an European Serjeant; a toll is paid for crossing. Close to you is the splendid new bridge,\* which ought to be completed in a year, and beyond is Pachete rising 1,900 feet high. By a gentle ascent we reach the top of the hill. On the left, two miles distant from the railway station, is the comfortable dâk-bungalow of Taldanga, where the traveller may stop for the night or rest for a couple of hours and dine; to the west lies an iron and coal-field; the views are fine, and one feels he has left swampy Bengal. The air blows fresh and invigorating: no more swamps; quartz, rocks, and hills, present themselves to the sight, and the roads are mended with kankar, a nodular deposit of limestone. Crossing the Barrakur, we are in Behar.

The romantic region of the hills begins—the *Switzerland* of Lower Bengal, the future scene of mineral and metallic enterprize, as Sherwill's and Oldham's reports show. These hills, once the seats of Buddhist shrines and monasteries, with their contemplative residents and haunting priests, are destined yet to be the abodes of a bustling, mining population, to be the Cornwall of Bengal, when the name *Kaila Desh*, or coal country, will be much more applicable than its present one of Behar, *i. e.*, the land of monasteries. These hills continue for 140 miles to the foot of the Dhunwa pass, a land of hill and dale, wood and water, abounding in scenery, interesting to the geologist and lover of the picturesque; the climate also changes, the nights become cool and clear. To the sportsman it is not devoid of interest, as the district of Pachete swarms with tigers and bears, the destruction of which would be a real act of kindness to the defenceless natives. *Palamow, Sirguja, Chota Nagpore*, and *Pachete*, afford various subjects

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\* It was begun in 1854-55; had cost, up to October last, about 11½ lakhs of rupees, and is expected to cost about 2½ more. It will consist of nine girder spans of 155 feet each with seven land arches of 75 feet. Six of the piers will be in the bed of the river, and sunk, some of them, 40 feet in the sand. The work has been delayed by the destruction of the foundation of two piers by a flood which struck them when half sunk. They have been extracted, and the work is in a fair way to completion.



of interest to the tourist in their aboriginal connection with tribes, the Coles and Dangars, their primeval forests and rude border chieftains, who, like the Lords of the Rhine, or the Rob Roys of Scotland, exercised their predatory habits on all defenceless persons who came within their reach ; and we trust the knowledge of their condition, which will be called out by travelling, will also elicit the sympathies of the Christian philanthropist. The coal-mines and railways, by giving employment, will have a civilizing effect on the people, and will give an impulse to education.

We enter now on a new state of things. Instead of the clever and cunning Bengali, we meet with simpler and more independent races. The language of Bengal gives way to the Hindi and Urdu, the manners of the people are more manly and frank, the soil alters, the alluvium of Bengal being no more found. Twelve centuries ago this country was Buddhist, and Jain monarchs ruled ; the language, Magadhi or Pali, a daughter of the Sanskrit, now the sacred language of Ceylon and Burmah, was then used here. On this interesting subject much information may be gleaned from *Fa Hion's Travels* in Bengal, in the fourth century, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. See also the *Calcutta Review*, No. VIII., *Indian Buddhism*. The present state of Behar is as different from the past as is that of Judæa now from what it was in the days of Solomon. Behar, once the Athens of India, is a place of ruins ;—crumbling temples, cave temples sui remains of granite columns, towers, palaces, cities, are found in districts now quite wild and depopulated. Bengal, which in Mogul days was a Botany Bay, the land of fish-eaters, now enters on the ascendant, with its city of palaces and hovels. *Gya*, *Rajgriha*, and *Behar*, are only names and shadows of the past. Behar, which once sent Buddhism from its bosom to Central Asia, supplied Gautama as a law-giver to Ceylon and Burmah, and became the cradle of Chinese Buddhism, is now “in the sere and yellow leaf ;” but we trust railroads will open out such a country to the sympathies of Christian minds : now all is darkness ; it sends opium to poison the Chinese.

The hills, after leaving Taldanga, assume a wavy appearance. Conceive one of the immense rollers at the Cape suddenly frozen ; it would give an idea of this undulation of the ground. The soil is gravelly, and only low jungle is to be seen ; while to the west, conical isolated hills rise to the height of a thousand feet—a welcome sight to him who has been “long in populous

cities pent." Along with this the atmosphere becomes more bracing and cool, and free from the Calcutta damp.

The soil is poor, but it contains within its bosom the germs of great improvement for this neglected country; the mineral resources will draw European settlers here, increase trade, schools will rise, and, we trust, the hopes of Christianity will follow in their train, and that missionaries will take one hint from the example of the Buddhist propagandists in this country—act more on the agricultural population, and adopt an extensive course of itinerant preaching.

A few miles beyond Taldanga, we leave the sand-stone, in which coal lies, and come to a district of primary rocks; the roads are mended with quartz. The country still rises, and hills appear more numerous, until we reach *Bagsama*. The junction of the sand-stone and gneiss rock, forming the elevated table-land of Upper Bengal, is passed over. The jungle here is composed chiefly of thorny bushes of *Zizyphus*; the twigs of the *butea frondosa* are covered with "lurid red tears of lac," which is collected here in abundance from this plant. The coal crops out here at the surface, and many fine fossils, have been obtained. According to Everest (*Gleanings of Science*, 1831, p. 133), the eminences here were once like Europe, islands of primitive rocks, rising in the middle of a large ocean; the *débris* is from beds of humus, out of which vegetables grew and formed the present soil. As in all coal-districts, the soil is barren.

*Bagsama* is right in the centre of the Tiger District, and is situated in *Pachete*,\* a *terra incognita*, having a curious class of aborigines, fond of eating rats. *Dr. Hooker's Journals* give an interesting view of the botany and geology of this district.

*Govindpur* is the residence of a Deputy Magistrate; a dâk-bungalow is needed here; it is a central and populous place.

*Fitkari*, 170 miles from Calcutta, is 1,050 feet above the sea level. Nine miles to the south of it begins the *Jherria coal-field*, stretching over an area of 200 square miles. Five miles from *Fitkari*, at *Rajafuta*, a new road branches off to *Chota Nagpore*. Another road is made from *Rajafuta*, passing *Chakya*,

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\* For the construction of such a line, which for a large part of its course would pass through a very rich agricultural country, these coal-fields will be invaluable; while, should the coal on further examination prove of good quality, they will, after construction, afford economical means of working the traffic, being most favourably placed near the centre of a long distance, where it would be difficult to obtain fuel, and being thus able to meet demands from either side.

to connect the Chota Nagpore road with the Ganges at Surajghur.

A little beyond this we enter the *Ramghur* District, wild and rocky, once noted for the border raids of its chieftains, at the head of whom was the Rajah of Chota Nagpore. The road here was dreaded as much by travellers as Black Heath was in the days of our forefathers; the zemindars levied their black mail, and, entrenched in their jungle fastnesses, bade defiance to the British troops. Dr. Buchanan states that the Cheros, an aboriginal tribe who lived in Ramghur and the Shahabad Hills, were "once lords paramount of the Gangetic Provinces." It would be interesting to examine the data for this statement. This district is rich in iron and coal.

*Topé Chancy* bungalow, 1,128 feet above the sea level, lies at the foot of Parasnath. The scenery around is charming; in fact, we have seen few places to equal it in this respect; it is embosomed in an amphitheatre of beautifully wooded mountains. The traveller should endeavour to leave this place early in the morning, or three hours before sun-set, so as to have the pleasure of the views along the road, winding for ten miles round the base of *Parasnath*, "giant of mountains," which assumes new aspects of beauty and sublimity, according as the curves in the road alter the prospect; the howling of the wind in the evening down the gorges of Parasnath is very grand.

A two hours' drive from Top Chancy brings us to the place for the ascent, *Nimya Ghaut*, which is a second class choultry on the 198th mile-stone on the Grand Trunk Road. There is a village here, where coolies, Jampanis, and supplies, can be had; there are also two fine large overseers' bungalows; it is to be hoped, as has been proposed, that one of them will be made the dâk-bungalow instead of Top Chancy or Dumri.

Here, while taking some refreshment, you must arrange for coolies at two annas each to carry your luggage up, and Jamphan men, whose charge for yourself is about two rupees. The road, ten feet wide, winds by a gradual and easy ascent of  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles to the top through a sâl forest; the hills are well wooded, and in two hours you arrive at the barracks.\* The first object one sees are these barracks situated on a spur which connects the two most northerly hills; they form an oblong building running north and south,

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\* In returning, have your dâk-ghari waiting for you at the foot of the hill; leave the top about 3 P. M.; start from Nimya Ghaut at 5: you will arrive at the Barrakur Station about 5 A. M.; take the 5-30 morning train, you arrive at Calcutta about 2-30 P. M.

with covered verandahs at each side, ventilated by windows and doors opposite each other. The barracks are so constructed that the prevailing south-west wind blows through them from side to side; the buildings consist of one story, 94 feet long by 25 feet wide, intended to hold 32 men, giving them each 69 square feet of space and 1,290 cubic feet of air; the long room is divided by partitions into three compartments, and there are rooms at both ends. The other buildings on the hill have been described at page 118. We have stated before the accommodation in the privates' and the officers' barracks; the former could accommodate 32 men, the latter three families.

Adieu for a time to punkahs, muggy air, mosquitoes, and bad smells; no hot winds, but a delicious morning and evening breeze, when you can wear cloth clothes even in the heat of summer.

Now, as to *water* and *air jalbatas*, which is the Bengali definition of climate. Dr. Macnamara, Chemical Examiner to Government, reported in September 1860, that "the waters of Parasnath are all very pure, and admirably fitted for domestic use." The following is his analysis:—

In 20 Ounces.		Solid Residue.	Silica.	Earthy Carbonates.	Saline Matters.	
Small Spring, No. 1.	...	Gr.				
1,600 feet from Observatory	...	1.0	.1	3.5	.55	In all, the saline matters were the same, chiefly chlorides with a little alkaline carbonate.
Small Spring, No. 2.	...					
1,700 feet from Observatory	...	1.05	.25	.55	.25	
Parasnath Temple Spring	...	1.0	.2	.4	.4	
Small Spring, two miles from Observatory on Road to Nimya Ghaut	... ..	1.1	.22	.38	.5	An accident prevented the completion of this analysis.
Seetah Nullah, about 3,000 feet from site	... ..	...	.18	.4	...	
Tokerah Nullah, half way on the Nimya Ghaut Road	...	1.0	.16	.5	.34	

In 1867, Staff Surgeon Atkinson, in medical charge of Parasnath, reported "the water obtained from a spring 1,000 yards from the barracks to be very good and more than sufficient for the wants of the Detachment; various competent parties here reported favourably of the water."

As to the temperature, Dr. Hooker in his visit in 1858; judging from the vegetation on Parasnath, states:—"The mountain-top presents the mixture of the plants of a damp hot, a dry hot, and of a temperate climate in fairly balanced proportions. The elements of a tropical flora were, however, wholly wanting on Parasnath;" while of the table-land of Birbhum and Behar, from Taldanga to Dunwa, 1,135 feet, he observes:—"It is evident that, compared with Calcutta, the dryness of the atmosphere is the most remarkable feature of the table-land, the temperature not being high."

Major Maxwell reported of the temperature; the difference in temperature (June) he found to be  $88^{\circ}-73^{\circ}=15^{\circ}$ . The different temperature has been ascertained frequently by other observers to be from 10 to 15 degrees; but those who have been there state, and of the fact all who have any hill experience are well aware, that the advantage and pleasurable feeling of the change from the plains below consists at least as much in the improved freshness and purity of the air as in its greater coolness by thermometer. Dr. Liebig's observation, taken in April, show  $12^{\circ}$  to  $15^{\circ}$  difference. Dr. Hooker, whose visit was made in February, found the difference to be that between  $54^{\circ}$  and  $75^{\circ}$ , or 21 degrees. Captain Beadle found it in May 1846,  $94^{\circ}-81^{\circ}=13^{\circ}$  difference."

Now, as to *scenery*, the view from the summit is quite a panorama. On a fine clear day you have a range of 80 miles; to the north, along the Kurukpur Hills, a spur of the Vindhya; and to the south, by those of Hazaribagh, stretching out to the Cole and Chota Nagpore country, rich in interest both for nature and man;\*

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\* Chota Nagpore is the scene of a most flourishing German mission commenced among the Dangars in 1845, supported from Berlin: it has more than 10,000 baptized Christians. Branch missions have been established in Manbhum, in 1863, and at Ramghur, the missionaries of which occasionally itinerate as far as Kharakdeh. The following statement in their last report deserves serious notice:—

For many years a regular system of oppression has been carried on by the zemindars, who by very possible means try to drive the Coles out of

to the north-west, the eye can range to the neighbourhood of Patna, the ancient Palibothra, to Behar and Gya, and trending round to the north-east is Bhagulpur, 130 miles distant, while running from west to north is the Barrakur, which, after winding its way, joins the Damuda near the railway station of the Barrakur. The Adji River is in the distance, and near the Barrakur. North-east is Birbhun Zillah, so well drawn in the rural annals of Bengal; then Bishanpore, the seat of Rajahs for one hundred generations. South-east we see the silvery sandy thread of the Damuda, the sacred river of the Sonthals, winding its serpentine course from the Ramghur Hills along a line of coal-fields through Pachete down to Burdwan; its bed is snowy white from the exposed granite blocks with which its course is strewn.

The country seems a level, but the traveller would find it very different; it is up and down hill. Sometimes the path is very steep; the villages are populous; the towns of Palamow, Serampur, Currakdya, Gaongum, and Palganj, have an average population in each of two or three thousand. Sonthals are numerous in parts. The jungles appear in the distance as black patches; the cultivated parts are of a lighter colour, while the sandy bed of the rivers shines through.

The south side of Parasnath may seem to the eye barren, but it contains valuable treasures in its bosom. Dr. Oldham states the *Jherria* coal-field can yield 465 millions of tons of coal. "This extensive, though not very rich, *Jherria* coal-field extends along the valley of the Damuda River, commencing about 10 miles to the west of the most westerly part of the Ranigunj field. Its greatest length, which is in. an

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their possessions. From year to year, the confusion and distress increases; and if the present state of affairs is not soon altered, the Coles must either perish, or emigrate *en masse*. In last November and December, in more than sixty villages, all the rice of the native Christians was cut by the zemindars, and there is not the least hope that any of the zemindars will be punished, or that a handful of the grain will be restored.

In other places where the Christians had cut their own crops, they were caught, beaten, and imprisoned, and in several places not only the crops, but the whole of their property, was taken away. How this calamity will end, only God knows; but we are sure that this confusion and distress is the principle cause why the village schools have hitherto been so unsuccessful. The nine schools contained 162 boys and girls, of whom 106 were of native Christian Coles; the others were Hindoos and Mahomedans.

east and west direction, is about 21 miles, and its greatest breadth (north to south) is about 9 miles. It is traversed throughout all its length, and toward the southern limits of its area, by the Damuda River. The total area may be taken as 200 square miles."

Near it is the *Bokaro* coal-field, which Dr. Oldham calculates will yield 1,500 millions of tons of coal. "The Bokaro coal-field commences not more than a mile to the west of the extreme western extremity of the Jherria field. From this it extends along the valley of the Damuda and of the Bokaro (one of the affluents of the Damuda). It forms a long narrow band of the coal-bearing rocks of more than 40 miles from east to west, with a breadth (north to south) never exceeding  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The total area of the field is about 220 square miles."

The whole country south-west down to the valley of the Soane abounds with coal-fields; so do Ramghur near the Damuda, Etkura, Palamow. Dr. Oldham was so struck with the value of the coal-beds beyond these districts, that he makes the following suggestions regarding a direct railway from Calcutta to Nagpore, *viâ* Sumbulpur :—

These coal-fields of Talchery, in conjunction with the reported coal-fields near Chanda, on the Wurda, and also the reported coal-fields in the vicinity of Sumbulpur, will, in a very few years, become of far higher importance and value than they are now. The rapidly increasing trade of Bombay, the certainty that it will be the great port for all postal and passenger communication with Great Britain and Europe, and the necessity which this involves of establishing the most rapid and safe means of transport from Calcutta, which, whether the seat of the Supreme Government or not, must always remain the commercial centre and outlet of the enormous trade of the Gangetic valley. All these will compel (and, so far as I can see, within a very few years) the construction of a line of railway which shall pass direct, or nearly so, from Calcutta to meet the existing lines from Bonni near Nagpur. Such a line would save on the whole a distance about 450 miles, or even more—a distance which at present Indian railway rates (20 miles per hour) would represent a saving of no less than nearly 24 hours (say even 22), or taken even at English quick rates (40 miles per hour), would be equivalent to a saving of nearly 12 hours—a saving of time in postal, and of fatigue in passenger, communication which cannot be overlooked.

The Trunk Road, which lies directly underneath Parasnath on the south now looks solitary. How very different before the railway opened! It was then a lively scene. Encampments of Sipahi regiments with their soldiers and followers, strings of camels led by the nose, immense lines of waggons, native travellers of all races, dāk-gharis heavily laden, conveying Europeans,

ekkas with their jingling bells, pilgrims on their way to Jagannath, the bearers of Ganges water, carts heavily laden with cotton,—afforded a never-ceasing subject of interest.

But though the Trunk Road has lost its importance as the link between the North-West and Bengal, we believe it is destined to a new life in connection with the development of the mineral resources of Behar, Chota Nagpore, Manbhum, Singbhum; and it may yet form a link in a line of railway running to Jubbulpore to form a direct line to Bombay.

The sun-rise and sun-set are glorious as seen from Parasnath; the morning sun tipping the Birbhum and Rajmahal Hills, and the evening descending with its purple light on the plateau of Chota Nagpore and Hazaribagh, present a sight the eye is never weary of resting on. Gazing from the top of Parasnath north, the country seems a dead level; but a traveller in 1827, from Palgunj to Madhuban, thus describes it in that day:—

“Few kinds of wild animals, besides the lion, are wanting in the prodigious wastes that extend in every direction; even wild elephants frequently come down from the neighbouring forests of *Kurrukpoor*, and destroy the huts in small villages for the sake of the grain that has been so carefully stored within. The supply of the miserable ryot, which he has laid by for the year, becomes the single meal of four or five of these resistless monsters, who, demolishing every blade of crop that is standing in the fields, and devouring the contents of every granary, completely expel the inhabitants from homes and lands which it has cost them so much toil to prepare.

“The destruction of human life by tigers along the banks of the *Barra-kur Nuddy* is enormous; an hundred lives during the year were reported to me as a fair average; and if one-third of this number perish in this horrid manner, the continuance of the natives to inhabit the neighbourhood is a strong instance of their naturally indifferent character. The crops are cut and the lands ploughed to the beat of drum; and so impervious are the jungles to all pursuit of the savage enemy, that the only mode of hunting him with success is to attach some bait to the trunk of the tree, amongst the branches of which the patient hunter must remain concealed with his gun. There is a great scarcity of smaller game in these parts on account of the scanty cultivation and rocky soil.

“The village of *Palgunjo* is beautifully situated, in point of landscape, between the large woods that spread to the north and east, and the gradually rising hills to the south-west, that concentrate at last in the majestic pile of *Parasnath*. From this point of view, this fine mountain forms a screen along the greater part of the southern horizon; the deep-blue tinge which it wears at sun-set and moonlight struck me as different from any effects of light and shade which I had observed in other mountainous countries.”

This neighbourhood has greatly improved since that period, and Parasnath is now visited without any danger of tigers by thou-



sands of pilgrims from Central and Western India in January, February, and March, to gaze on the spot where their great saint is said to have made his ascent to heaven. The men and women in their picturesque dresses then present an interesting sight. At other times of the year not a Jain remains, not even the Jain priest of the temple.

Besides these distant views from the top of Parasnath, there are objects of interest for excursions; the nearest is the *mats* or little shrines about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the barracks, placed on pinnacles of the mountain which go round a valley in the form of an amphitheatre. These pinnacles are capped each with *gunite* or *tula*, 20 in all, a solid pile of brickworks. Some are 8 feet high, some only 2.\* In each is a small recess; on the flat the print of a foot is marked, revered as the *charan* or last footmark on earth of the Tirthankar or deified saint whose name is engraved below.\* There is also an inscription giving the date of the consecration; the oldest is A. D. 1768. They were all re-built by Jagat Set about that period. The old bricks served for the new building, as labour is scarce, and materials few in this country. Hence, no remains of antiquity are to be found; the Jains very different from the Hindoos, built on other men's foundations.

Some of these *mats* are steep and laborious in the ascent, yet the pilgrims have to climb each and present the offerings at every one of rice, sandal, dhup (incense), flower, fruits, and a lamp. They can only go by daylight lest they should destroy the smallest insects in the dark. The pilgrimage is concluded by performing a circuit round the base, a distance of 30 miles. Starting from Madhuban, and returning to it, they then go to the temple of Pawap in Behar and Champapur near Bhagulpur.

The Jain system professed by these pilgrims is an offshoot of Buddhism; it is free from the polytheism and obscenities of Hindooism and its variety of castes. It has sects, however; the leading ones are the Sitambar and the Digambar: the latter profess to wear no clothes, having the atmósphere as their

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\* The Musulmans revere the *Kadamrasul* or footsteps of Mahomed when he visited places such as Delhi; the Hindoos have the Vishnupad or last footsteps of Vishnu. As the prophet revered Elijah's mantle, his last earthly trace, so do the Jains the last earthly footsteps of a canonised saint.

vesture, or "clothed in light." The Jains may be called the Jews of India, its great traders; they meddle little with land, but are bankers and merchants. When the Buddhists had to fly from India under the fire of Brahminical persecution, the Jains lost their landed-property, but they kept to trade, which was less exposed to plunder.

They are noted for their honesty, which may be expected from the comparatively pure nature of their religion, which inculcates as its five great virtues the not taking life, truth, honesty, chastity, and poverty.

The temples have been repaired and are maintained by Jain merchants of Murshedabad. Jagat Set, one of them, was a very liberal benefactor. The Jains are deists, but they believe that there were twenty-four *Tirthankars*, or holy men, who attained to *Sanyog*, or absorption in God. These saints were revered at first; they are now worshipped (see Colebrooke on the Jain Tirthankars, Asiatic Researches, Vol. IV., p. 304). Of these Ajit-nath, Sambunath, Bhunath, all except four obtained *mukti* or death at Parasnath, and from it made the ascent to heaven, choosing this mountain as the scene of their retirement and sanctification; from it they could see their holy land stretching towards Champanagar near Bhagulpur and Rajgriha. The most eminent of these was Parasnath, born at Benares, who spent his last days here, and from the highest and most western of the mountain pinnacles made his ascent to heaven. The Tirthankars were natives some of Oude, others of Delhi, others of Benares, Scinde, Delhi.

An excursion from Parasnath to Madhuban, about 6 miles, will well repay a visit; it is the great place for Jain pilgrims from Rajputana, the Madras Presidency, and Central India. The chief subject of interest is the image of Parasnath of a blue color with the Chatar. The *Chatar* distinguishes the image of *Parswa* or *Parswanath* from those of the other twenty-three *Tirthankars*, which are otherwise undistinguishable by posture or appearance. It is related in the *Jain Shastras* that, in token of approbation for his piety, the deity sent a snake to preserve this favourite saint from the approach of all contaminating things during the period of his *Tapasya*, or abstract devotion; the obedient animal crawling up the neck of the honoured devotee, arched his hooded head above his crown, and retained this attitude of protection and watchfulness until the apotheosis of his ward.

A traveller approaching Madhuban from the Palgunj side thus describes it :—

“ After about two hours leisurely marching, from Palgunj I ascended a small hill, from the top of which a view opened suddenly upon my sight, for which I was very little prepared. A panorama, extending far to the east and west, lay before me ; nothing impeded my marking the very line at which the pediment of *Parasnath* rose out of the earth ; and there, about three miles before me, snugly immersed in the midst of rounded banyan and mango trees, under the very pedestal of the mountain, a collection of brilliantly white temples, with their pointed cupolas, were brightly glittering in the sun. Since I left Europe I had nothing so picturesque as this singular landscape. The contrast of this graceful building, with the deep color of the foliage, the huge shadows of the mountain, and the desert-scene all round, gave a novelty to the combinations of the landscape, indescribable by any comparisons with other views that I can remember. Then indeed that noble pile of hills, revealed in all its grandeur to my sight, looked like a gigantic monarch sitting in state, and surveying the surrounding wide space of his dominions. A lower ridge of the mass, projecting so far beyond the highest pile, that its peak, rising behind, looked like a separate mountain, afforded a singular resemblance to the sitting posture of a giant ; and under this stupendous figure the white and shining temples might not unaptly be compared to minute and beautiful toys of ivory, brought as offerings by his subjects, and laid at the feet of the deity.”

From Madhuban the pilgrims ascend the mountain by a very steep path for 4 miles amid a magnificent solitude, passing a fine river, *Sita Nuddy*. Near it is a *math* erected by a Jain lady ; the path is very steep, and the views in the opening of the forest very grand. Madhuban, with its temples, gardens, trees ; the chief temple with its cupola, turrets, steeple ; and court-yard with its gallery for the accommodation of the pilgrims, presents a very picturesque appearance ; their architecture seems a composite between the Mahomedan mosque and the Hindoo math. The Nabat-khana, balustrades, and bell-turrets, seem Moslem. At the shrine of Madhuban the pilgrim makes the *pindah* or offering for deceased friends of ghi, honey, rice, sugar-candy, and the flower amkhan.

The scenery west of Parasnath, the Dunwa Pass, is well worth a visit. A Mrs. Wingrove, who traversed in 1852, thus gives her impressions. They were the days of dâk-travelling, when she took 17 hours from Calcutta to Burdwan. She thus describes the road between Bagoda and Burkutta ;—

“ The country now assumed a very different aspect, the road winding among the hills which rose around us on all sides ; their sides were richly wooded with low but verdant foliage, and the effect of the varied tints and shadows, cast upon them by the clouds, as they passed over the summits

of the hills, was truly magnificent. Near the road side were numerous small tracts of level ground, all highly cultivated, or where the rice-crops had been cut, affording good pasturage for cows and buffaloes; the former have frequently sweet-toned bells hung round their necks, which sound with pleasing tones as they move along.

"The whole scene was one of rural peace and tranquillity. About three o'clock in the afternoon the scenery became magnificent: new and higher hills than those we had previously seen rose before us; some were very steep and craggy, but all were covered with trees of every variety of tint and foliage.

These hills abound both in bears and tigers, the latter are frequently seen by the natives, and when pressed by hunger, the sheep and cows grazing in the lowlands, often fall a prey to these wild beasts. Deer abound in the wooded heights of these mountains.

"There is some fine timber in this part of the country; and the soil appeared unfavourable to the growth of palm-trees and aloes.

"The day was very cloudy and most favourable for seeing the country in all its wild grandeur. I never saw anything finer in England, although many parts of Devonshire and the Isle of Wight resemble the scenery but on a very limited scale.

"We arrived at Burcutta, a most picturesque little bungalow."

Of the country near the Dunwa Pass she writes:—

"Imagination cannot draw a more charming picture than this spot presented. Lofty hills, with their pointed summits rising one above another, and covered with rich though stunted foliage, surrounded us. The intervening valleys and rocky passes were filled with tops of graceful bamboos and other trees, over whose branches climbed luxuriant creeping plants, while the whole scene was animated by numerous varieties of birds of exquisite plumage. In the long grass by the road side partridges were quietly seeking their evening meal, and flying from tree to tree were numbers of wood-pigeons, doves, minas, and countless varieties of parroquets; their green wings glittering in the sun, and their brilliant colours only equalled by that of the young trees on which they perched, and from which they could hardly be distinguished as they swung from branch to branch.

"I have never before seen so many beautiful birds in their natural wild state; the woods and trees seemed alive with them, and their varied notes echoed through the hills with indescribable sweetness. I have since been told this spot is celebrated among bird-fanciers, who go and destroy these happy wild creatures for the sake of their plumage, and to add to their collections of stuffed birds. The King of Oude also sends annually to this part of India for hundreds, and thousands of these splendid birds, from which, when shot, the choicest and most brilliant colours of their feathers are reserved for the decoration of the walls of his palace, in the rooms of which they are arranged with great taste and effect."

A trip to the hot springs of *Surajkund* will well repay a visit. You descend the mountain to Nimya Ghaut; pass the lovely bungalow of *Dumri*, 1,429 feet above the sea level, beautifully situated, surrounded by an amphitheatre of wood crowned with hills of gneiss, horn blende, schist, and quartz; tin ore is found at fourteen miles distant, while at *Karrakdya*, twenty miles north, immense masses of mica are procurable, which sell for

four rupees per maund ; three-fourths of the mica used in Bengal is brought from this place. The nilgau abounds in the forests here ; it is the *antelope picta*, about the size of an ox, with sloping back and short horns.

Nor is Parasnath destitute of interest to the botanist.

At *Bagoda*, 214 miles, is to be seen the bombax tree with its buttressed trunk. The road winds beautifully along ; the hills are clad with *Gemelina*, *Termiualia*, *Buchanania* ; " birds abound here ; among others, the mohoka (*phœnecopaus tristis*), a walking cuckoo, with a voice like that of its English name sake." The views to the east are magnificent.

We come to *Belkuppi*, 28 miles from Parasnath, and 300 yards from the road are four hot-springs, in little ruined brick tanks, about six feet across. There is a tank here twelve feet in diameter, supplied by a cold spring, which flows between two hot ones ; they all meet and flow together into one large tank ; one of them is hot enough to boil eggs, and has a horrid, nauseous taste, reminding one of the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle ; salt is deposited. Dr. Hooker found the temperature of these hot-springs to be 169°, 170°, 173°, and 190°, while that of the cold springs in their immediate neighbourhood was 75°. Various plants grow in the water. A water-beetle abounded at a temperature of 112°, and frogs were very active at 90°.

The *Burkutta* river is a large stream in the rains, carrying along gneiss and granite boulders.

*Barshatti*, 240 miles, is noted for its magnificent tope of mango, banyan, and pipul trees. *Borassia*, a kind of palm trees, are to be seen here eighty feet high ; their lower part is a short cone, tapering to one-third the height of the stem, the trunk to two-thirds. The Indian *olibanum* tree is here " conspicuous for its pale bark and curving branches, leafy at their apices." A fragrant and transparent gum exudes from its trunk.

*Burhi* has, three miles to the east, the Barrakur bridge, a noble stone edifice of 9 arches, each of fifty feet span. To the north of Burhi are copper, lead, mica, and iron-mines. A little beyond Burhi the road is 1,524 feet above the sea level. we then pass the bed of the Barrakur, an affluent of the Damuda. After this, excepting the Dhunwa Pass, we have no more of the wooded hills, which had continued for 120 miles ; the table-land is near its termination.

Near *Champaran*, 257 miles, and 1,526 feet above the sea, is the commencement of the *Dhunwa Pass*. Champaran is 1,311

feet above the sea level ; from this the Ramghur table-land, which has had wooded hills for 120 miles, begins to stoop to the Behar plains below, which extend in one uniform level to the foot of the Himalayas. The Dhunwa Pass leads to the valley down a broken hill of gneiss, six miles, with a descent of nearly 1,000 feet ; of this 600 are very rugged and steep, constructed by the sappers and miners in 1836-37. The views from it are very beautiful : an amphitheatre of wood-capped hills, the continuation of a chain stretching from Cambay to Rajmahal. The bambu here is green, whereas at a higher level it is yellow or white. Wild peacocks are in the wood. Some large and handsome stone bridges are at the foot of the pass ; that at Bhawa is a very fine one, and crosses the Mohana torrent with five arches of sixty-five feet span each.

We return now from the west to the north of Parasnath. *Kurhurbali* is 16 miles to the north-east, and will, we hope, ere long be accessible by a road, proposed to connect it with Bagoda and so on direct to Hazaribagh. These coal-mines, which are to be the great source of supply for all places above Rajmahal, will enable coal to be sold at Patna at the same rate as Ranigunj coal is sold in Calcutta. They are worth a visit, as is the country for its varied scenery and plateau well adapted for encamping troops. Dr. Oldham calculates the coal will yield 168 millions of tons of coal equal in working power to 199 millions of ordinary Ranigunj coal. Between Kurhurbali and the Rajmahal Hills there are some small outliers of the coal-bearing rock. *Palgunj* is about 10 miles distant from Parasnath.

At *Palgunj* the devotional duties of the *Jain* pilgrims who flock to this remote spot from every part of *India*, even from the furthest provinces of the *Dukhun*, commence. The zemindar, who has dubbed himself with the title of Rajah, is considered by that sect as the guardian of the holy lands, and has in his possession a small image of *Parasnath*, which every pilgrim pays for worshipping before he proceeds to the temples at the foot and on the summit of the mountain. The Rajah's ancestors came originally from Rohilkund and hill-provinces of Parasnath. He claims, though Hindoo, the offerings of the Jain pilgrim, on the ground that Parasnath appeared to him and made him the grant.

The *Ghatwals* here were famous for levying a rich harvest from the Jain pilgrims who passed through it on to Parasnath. The Rajah and his Amlahs levy it now. After paying it the pilgrims proceed to Madhuban.

*Kurakdeha* is the seat of a Rajah who belongs to the most ancient family in the country.

The surface soil of Parasnath is a black mould produced by vegetable decomposition ; the sub-soil is sandy red clay.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III., 1863, is a paper by Dr. Anderson on the Flora of Behar and the Mountain Parasnath, collected by Messrs. Hooker, Edgeworth, Thompson, and Anderson, giving a list of more than 600 different plants. Dr. McClelland in his Report of the Geological Survey of India, 1848-49, presents another list. The *mohur* tree, compared by Dr. Hooker to the English oak, gives with its spreading noble appearance a park-like appearance to the country. The favourite spirit of the country, *mowa*, is distilled from its flowers. The *butea frondosa* affords food to the lac insects which yields the lac-dye of commerce. The *berberi* shrub, a good febrifuge, grows plentifully over the hills. The *sukna* trees show a clear stem of 50 or 60 feet before the branches shoot out. There are innumerable creepers of the finest fibre and the most gigantic sinews. "The variety of their appearance is inexhaustible: sometimes they hung in beautiful festoons from branch to branch; sometimes their thick stems encircled the trunks of the trees like crushing snakes, yet darting out harmless limbs from above, that inclosed a thousand giants of the forest in one embrace; sometimes they fell from high branches to the ground, twisting into complicated knots by the way; and sometimes they covered the crowns of the fine trees with a hood of beautiful flowers, that made a complete arbour beneath." Wild bananas abound: *sdl* timber is abundant, yielding *dhuna*, or gum. *Jarul* is found. Parasnath has been favoured in its trees, for the Jains regard the felling a tree as bad as murder, inasmuch as it is the destruction of life.

The *geologist* may amuse himself: the country to the north of Parasnath is composed entirely of gneissose rocks, with intercalated beds of horn blende slates, and horn blende rock, with occasional granite, thick quartzose veins, and trap-dykes to Kurhurbur coal-field.

To the *antiquarian* Parasnath is connected with deeply interesting associations; it is the centre of a land which though for ages given over to the tiger and wild aboriginal tribes, though now the Bœotia of Bengal, was yet once the seat of empire. We quote here what we wrote long ago in this *Review* on the subject in an article on Buddhism.

"The religion of Buddhism was originally from Hindoostan, and spread over the greater part of Asia. Its dominion extended from the sources of the Indus to the Pacific Ocean, and even to Japan. The fierce Nomades of Central Asia have been changed by it into men virtuous and mild, and its beneficial

influence is felt as far as Central Siberia. Buddhism, originating in North India, spread from Bengal to Kashmir north, and Ceylon south."

"Behar, or Magadh, was formerly the seat of a great empire. In the time of Sandracottus, or Chandragupta, Asoko reigned at Patna, B. C. 319. He was the king of all India. His edicts, engraved on rocks from Kattak to Girnar in Guzurat, and on the Delhi, Allahabad, and other columns, have been decyphered through the labours of J. Prinsep and Dr. Mill. Behar is famous in all Buddhist countries for having been the scene of the life and labours of Buddha, the great teacher. He flourished, according to the Chinese accounts, and in the opinion of Klaproth and Wilson, 1,000 B. C. He was born at Gya, the son of Sudadan, king of Magadh, and of the family of Sakya. When grown up, he retired to the desert, where he spent six years in contemplation and ascetic practices; he then proceeded with a band of followers to Benares to propagate his doctrines, which were opposed by the advocates of fire worship, who had come from Persia. He travelled as far as Ceylon, and through Magadh, diffusing his tenets. Rajgriha, "the mountain-girt city," was a celebrated metropolis, situated to the south of Gya, long the seat of empire and a centre for Buddhism in Behar, until the court was removed to Palibothra by king Asoko. Buddha itinerated in the mountainous region to the south of it, preaching his doctrines. Jarasand, king of India, also resided here; some ruins yet remaining are said to have been built by him."

Our brief sketch is finished. We trust that Parasnath may ere long emerge from its obscurity; and while appreciated as a minor sanatarium, the hill with its associations and the surrounding country may excite an interest in the social and commercial development of a district hitherto a *terra incognita*.



ART VI.—THE ANNALS OF OUR CONNECTION  
WITH INDIA, ENDING WITH THE EMBASSY OF  
SIR THOMAS ROE.

1. *The Rise of our Indian Empire.* By Lord Mahon. London: Printed by John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1859.
2. *Mill's History of India.* James Madden, 8, Leadenhall Street.

SO varied have the changes been, diversifying the pages of Indian history; so great has been its claim to antiquity; so unchanging during many changes have the manners, the customs, the language of the great population of the Indian Empire been; and so neglectful in remembering the events of their own past history, or of recording those events faithfully, have the natives of India been, that a story from the fables of Pilpay or from the pages of the Arabian Nights, might be borrowed for an illustration. The great changes which have taken place, successively changing its destiny, have as yet left no marked impress, and have left the great mass of the people unchanged. We shall quote a passage from the narrative of Khiddz, an allegorical personage, in a manuscript tale still preserved in the imperial library at Paris, by an Arabian writer, Mahomed Karurini.

"I passed one day by a very ancient and wonderfully populous city, and asked one of its inhabitants how long it had been founded. 'It is indeed a mighty city,' replied he; 'we know not how long it has existed, and our ancestors were on this subject as ignorant as ourselves.' Five centuries afterwards, as I passed by the same place, I could not perceive the slightest vestige of the city. I demanded of a peasant who was gathering herbs upon its former site, how long it had been destroyed. 'In sooth, a strange question,' replied he; 'the ground here has never been different from what you now behold it.' 'Was there not of old,' said I, 'a splendid city here?' 'Never,' answered he, 'so far as we have seen; and never did our fathers speak to us of any such.' On my return there five hundred years afterwards, I found the sea in the same place, and on its shores were a party of fishermen, of whom I required

how long the land had been covered by the waters. 'Is this a question,' say they, 'for a man like you? This spot has always been what it is now.' I again returned five hundred years afterwards; the sea had disappeared. I enquired of a man who stood alone upon the spot, how long this change had taken place, and he gave me the same answer as I had received before. Lastly, on coming back again after an equal lapse of time, I found there a flourishing city, more populous and more rich in beautiful buildings than the city I had seen the first time; and when I would fain have informed myself concerning its origin, the inhabitants answered me, 'Its rise is lost in remote antiquity. We are ignorant how long it has existed, and our fathers were on this subject as ignorant as ourselves.'\*

Of the many changes which have taken place in India, none have been fraught with so many great results as that which has placed under British rule the teeming populations of this great empire, the race of the builders of Ellora, and the rock-excavated temples of Elephanta and Mahavellipore, and the heirs of the great Mogul.

We purpose in this article briefly to trace the early connection of the British with India. If we are not greatly mistaken, this portion of the history of British India will be found not the less interesting from its obscurity, and from its exemplifying the origin of our eastern greatness.

The history of India during that early period, when the British first landed in India, must always be interesting. We shall endeavour, therefore, to review that period when the first intercourse of the British nation with India commenced, and to record those events—half political, half commercial—which ended in the establishment of the first Company on a durable basis. If we mistake not, this subject, so little touched upon in previous histories, will be found to be an interesting portion of British Indian history: and in the efforts of the first traders will be found the traces of that subsequent indomitable will, which has resulted in establishing the English supremacy in India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayan Mountains. Long before the first English traders landed, the Portuguese had settled in India, had explored some portion of its coasts, had enriched themselves after the manner that a civilized race would enrich itself at the expense of a feeble and half-civilized race, had enjoyed and abused the advantages they possessed—the

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\* Timb's *Curiosities of Science*.

advantages of superior knowledge and skill exerted against half-civilised races, ignorant of the use of fire-arms, and untrained in military discipline. Vasco de Gama was the first to brave the stormy passage round that Cape which had baffled so many previous attempts, and which had then been called the Cape of Storms: and in 1498, with a handful of equally daring companions, he set foot on Calicut. To the natives on the beach,\* that small ship which first anchored in sight within a few miles of the town, was an object of marvel; as was the ship of Columbus to the Red Indians of America. The praise of Vasco de Gama was sung by Camoens. The valour of his captains called forth the admiration of a court which had heard without enthusiasm of the services of great commanders who had studied to eclipse the daring of Columbus.

Of this town, where the Zamorin, the successor of the Tamuri Rajahs, once lived in legal splendour, but few traces of its old magnificence is still left. The once capacious haven has been drifted in by sand. Its great Brahminical monastery is in ruins: and to the traveller viewing it from the point from which it had first been seen by the followers of Vasco, nothing is discernible beyond a few lines of huts shaded by cocoanut or palmyra trees.† Twelve years later the forces of Albuquerque plundered the town and burnt the palace of its kings.

By a series of bold exploits the Portuguese had extended the settlement from the Coast of Malabar to the Persian Gulf; and a century had not elapsed, when they had achieved fresh conquests, had explored the Indian Ocean as far as Japan, and adventurers had astonished Europe with the story of gigantic fortunes rapidly amassed. It was not long after, that the example thus set by Portugal was followed by the other European states; and a century and a half had scarcely elapsed when English, Danish, and French factories rose alongside of the factories built by the Portuguese.

That India should have been left unvisited by the English, would indeed have been strange. The wealth of India had always attracted the cupidity of the monarchs of the west. The commerce of the east had, for ages past, enriched the states which had traded with her. Syria, Egypt, Venice, Persia, Greece, had owed their wealth and growing opulence to

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\* *Edye on the Seaports of Malabar.*

† *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, I., p. 204.

their overland trade with India. It had added to the greatness of the Venetian republic. It had retarded the downfall of the Byzantine Empire. India and the gorgeous east were often synonymous; the land of spices and of precious stones, where diamonds glittered on the base of the pedestals of Hindoo gods, and where sequins and goldmohurs were buried underneath, or else entombed within, the framework of their stone-carved deities.

At no period of British history had the love of maritime enterprize been so great. The spirit of commerce, once fairly roused, began rapidly to develop itself. Trading Companies were formed. The successes of Cabot, of Vasco de Gama, and of Albuquerque, had fired the imagination, while it had excited the cupidity, of the English nation. Private gentlemen offered to accompany the expeditions then manned, as volunteers. English nobles mortgaged their estates, and sold their plate to equip small fleets of their own.

So early as the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward IV., efforts were made to reach India by a north-east passage. Thorne, an English merchant, who had lived nearly all his life in Seville, returned to lay his project of a north-west passage before Henry VIII. The great object was then, if possible, to effect a passage to India by a route which would enable them to trade with India without giving umbrage to the Portuguese. Sir Hugh Willoughby endeavoured to discover a passage to the East Indies, and sailed to Norway, but was met with a storm so severe at the North Cape, that his boldest mariners quailed, and with his entire crew was wrecked off the shores of Lapland.\* Martin Frobisher manned a pinnace and two boats, and ardently endeavoured to discover a passage by steering north-west through Hudson's Bay. A few years later, Captain Davis with greater success sailed further north, and gave his name to the straits which he had discovered. Most of their voyages had been unsuccessful; but the hopes once entertained of reaching India by sailing west were never abandoned, and were at a later period destined to meet with success. That the discovery of the eastern passage by the Cape of Good Hope was one which must have occurred in the course of time, there are some that will doubt: that that discovery was accelerated by the reputation of the discovery made by Columbus and by Americus Vesputius in the west, will not be denied.

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\* Hackluyt.



the destinies of the British Empire with those of India. There are hidden causes always at work, secret springs of action which work out those great moral or political changes which leave their lasting impress on the era of the world's history.

Whether in the rise and fall of the Persian or Grecian dynasties ; whether in the rapid rise and the extended dominion of the Roman Empire ; whether in the permissive conquests of Mahomet, and the spread of Islamism from the Oxus to the Tagus ; whether in the discovery of the new world by the genius and inspiration of an obscure navigator ; whether in the extension of British supremacy over so great a part of the civilized world ; causes have been at work, working out those great ends which appear to have been predestined, and which tend to work out the unity, the progress, the development of civilization, of the different races of the earth. Thus, too, when the ancient civilization of the east becomes effete, a more active civilization—a civilization based on the energy of the west—is engrafted on the institutions of the east.

One result of this great and unprecedented spirit of adventure which had manifested itself in the sixteenth century, was to throw a new life into the spirit of commerce. In a few years, trade was established on a firm basis with the Netherlands ; and while the merchants of Plymouth traded for silks and wares with Guinea and Brazil, the merchants of Bristol entered on an equally lucrative trade with Newfoundland and the Canary Islands. While English sailors explored the icebergs of Spitzbergen, or amused themselves by harpooning walruses or shooting wild bears among the frozen seas of the Arctic, another band of daring seamen, on the point of being wrecked, found unexpected shelter in the harbour of Archangel, and laid the foundation of a lasting commercial intercourse with the natives of that place. It was at this period that Company of merchant adventurers were first formed, who were destined at no late period to change the dynasty of India.

Two events tended to hasten the formation of a Company for India. One was the memorable voyage of Sir Francis Drake from Plymouth to Java, by the Pacific Ocean ; the other was the equally successful voyage, by the same route, of Thomas Cavendish.

Both Francis Drake and Cavendish made the voyage round the world ; and both had proved themselves to be naval commanders of no ordinary type. But to Sir Francis Drake must undoubtedly belong the honor of having been the first English

man, and the first British naval commander, who had succeeded in making that remarkable voyage.

Magellan had indeed tried it; but before the voyage had been made, he had ceased to live.

The son of a clergyman, Francis Drake early evinced his love of daring adventure. In 1567 he sailed with his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, to the Bay of Mexico. Three years later, he commanded an expedition to the West Indies. Subsequently we read of him as sacking the town of Nombre de Dios. It was then that he fancied he discovered, from an elevation on some high range of hills, glimpses of that great ocean which divided India from America. He returned to obtain the royal permission to equip a fleet and lead an expedition which would, for boldness of design, have vied with that of Magellan. After cruising about the western coasts of America, and after having taken much plunder, he left America to sail across that apparently illimitable ocean on which but one ship had as yet ventured.

The passage was a fortunate one. Land was at last reached. The dawn, as it ushered in the day, disclosed through the haze, the dim outlines of land. As the morning mists were dispelled, those on board could discern clearly the shores of an island rising out of the waves. Its low beach seemed to fade away into distant summits. Dark-green foliage clothed the beach, and in the distance might be seen the faint outlines of blue hills standing out in relief against deep-blue skies. The sailor landed, and learnt that the island was called Ternate, one of the group of the Moluccas. In that visit was first laid the foundation of that commercial intercourse from which influences so vast should subsequently spring. To Drake and his followers everything had the appearance of novelty:—the swarthy natives, their strange garb, their semi-rude appearance bearing a resemblance to that of the Red Indians of America, their strange language, their gestures of surprise, their numbers, the graceful folds of their large turbans, the apparent richness of the island, the rich luxuriance of the groves, the intense glare of the noon-day sun. Drake was received by the king with pleasure. He was shewn over the island, introduced to the Court, invited to the palace.

Exchange of presents led to a further exchange of goods, and the vessel of Drake, after being richly laden with spices, set sail, not however before touching at Java, for that passage round the Cape which had hitherto been monopolized by the

Portuguese. On their return to England, they had much to relate of their impressions of the east. They had, it is true, not landed in India, or touched at Ceylon, but even those islands where they had landed, were not devoid of natural beauty. The thick foliage of trees, the rich verdure of the grass, the tropical appearance of the graceful palms, the yellow beach lined with wondering swarthy savages, proclaimed a new creation—the abodes of a race of people whose very existence had not before been surmised; and as the rudest and most ignorant of that small crew of brave English sailors scanned the faces or surveyed the savages as they plied in the track of the great English vessel in their rude canoes hollowed out of the bark of single trees, it would scarcely be a subject for wonder if he did not look upon himself as belonging to a far superior species than the staring and wondering natives before him, with their heads covered with rags or with the twisted fibres of the date-palm.

At the time when Drake's vessel anchored at Ternate, the sovereign of that island was at enmity with the Portuguese, who had settlements in Java, and who had already been enriched by the commercial relations which had been established between them and the islanders of Malaysia, or the Malay Archipelago. This island, the most valuable of the Malacca group, was then governed by a king who ruled also over seventy other islands, and who, though not civilized, gave Drake any his crew a courteous reception. Those islands were then, as they are now, famed for their trade in cinnamon, in cloves, in ivory, and in horns; and although few signs of refinement or civilization could be traced among the homesteads of the people, the Court and palace of the king showed traces of magnificence, if not of oriental splendour.

The capital and the seat of sovereignty, Ternate had then the largest trade of any of its adjacent sister islands. Although not large in its extent, it contained a single mountainous chain with a lofty peak, the crater of an extinct volcano. Thick foliage and tropical plants covered the islands, and groups of hills indicated the houses or homesteads of the uncouth and dusky islanders. With these islanders the crew of the English vessel exchanged presents; and after loading their vessel with spices, they set sail westward.

Sailing four degrees south, their attention was attracted by a chain of hills on one of the adjacent islands; and landing, they were struck with the wondrous fertility of the island of



Java. Java had not yet attained to the celebrity it subsequently attained as a model Dutch settlement.

It was peopled by a mixed race of Malays, Javanese, and Chinese. The Mahometan religion prevailed. Its shores, washed by the Southern Indian Ocean, offered facilities for harbours, which were subsequently extensively developed by the maritime genius of its Dutch conquerors. As at Ternate, the palms and cocoanuts, the thick vegetation, and the tropical foliage, added to the interest of the scene, and prolonging his stay for a few days, Drake set sail, steering for that passage by the Cape, then exclusively claimed by the Portuguese, but which subsequently was destined, for nearly half a century, to be the high-road of the commerce between the east and the west.

They found the voyage a calm one. On sighting land, they touched at the Cape of Good Hope. At a distance they could see the high lands and extensive plateaux of Table Mount, running parallel with the southern coast. At that period the southern mountain terraces of Africa were not explored; and Table Mountain, which rises above Cape Town, and which frowns on the sea from a height of more than three thousand feet, was known only to the savage bushmen, or the still more savage Hottentots.

At that period, no flourishing settlements marked the progress of British colonization. A few houses rudely built, and a city without any pretensions to European comforts, indicated where the Portuguese had first landed. At present it forms one of the most flourishing of British colonial settlements. To the naval genius and enterprize of a Portuguese navigator must be ascribed the first discovery of Cape Town, so early as 1486. Bartholomew Diaz, a navigator, impelled by a zeal for discovery, sailed eastward, and while rounding the African Cape, experienced disastrous storms in the tempestuous sea which washes the southernmost coast of Africa. He landed in the nearest bay, and called the bold projecting promontory the "Cape of Tempests." The good sense and better taste of John II., king of Portugal, led him to change its name to that of the "Cape of Good Hope." His wish, which was not destined to be frustrated, led him to believe that the passage thus discovered, might eventually be the high road to the East Indies; and a happy and felicitous thought led him to call it by that name, which it has ever since borne. Eleven years later, Vasco de Gama, with greater success, doubled the passage, and, by so doing, removed that barrier which had so long shut out the enterprize of Europe from one-half of the

eastern world. For nearly a century before Drake's vessel touched at Cape point or anchored at Table Bay, the passage by the Cape and the commerce with the east were monopolized by the Portuguese. At that period, Bushmen ranged over the lands, and by the banks of the Keiskamma, the elephant, and the Briede Berg River, hyenas and wolves, made their lairs. At present, Cape Town presents a pleasing appearance. Its parallel streets, watered and intersected by numerous canals, its churches and chapels, its Exchange and its Observatory, its public library and its botanic and horticultural gardens, its theatres and places of public amusements, place it in the rank of cities not much inferior to Marseilles or Lyons. On the meadows and pasture-lands at the foot of the great table which had once owned the tiger or the wolf for its denizens, Merino sheep, not much inferior to the Coteswold breed, might now be seen to be pasturing; and on once arid or barren plains might be seen promising fields and broad corn-lands. The energy of its settlers led them to develop the mineral resources of the country. The gold washings in the basin of the Orange River, and the copper mines of the country, have been a source of profit to the proprietors, as well as a source of gain to the colony.

The crew of the vessel commanded by Drake found that the navigation of the Cape of Good Hope was not so dangerous, the seas round the Cape not so tempestuous, as they had imagined. They set sail after making themselves acquainted with the country; and after a voyage which was protracted over a space of two years and ten months, they had the good fortune of anchoring safely in Plymouth Sound.

Rarely had the Sound presented a scene of so much stirring interest as when Drake's vessel anchored there from its voyage round the world. The news rapidly spread of his return. The elevated esplanade of the Hoe then, as now the favourite promenade of the towns-people, was lined with people who thronged to see the vessel which had sailed round the world, a vessel which was commanded by a man who had so well distinguished himself as a daring and successful seaman. As the ship lay anchored in the Sound with the ripples glittering and glancing in the sunbeams, and as curious eyes surveyed or scanned the crew who had braved so many dangers, a feeling of pride might have been excused in its commander. For in an age distinguished for the fame of its great naval captains, men like Sir Hugh Willoughby, Martin Frobisher, Davis, and Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and Sir Richard

Grenville, Drake alone had achieved signal success in an enterprize which, even in that age of daring commanders, was considered to be an expedition not unattended with great risk, and still greater chances of ultimate failure.

When he landed, everywhere he met with a warm reception. The Queen conferred the dignity of the Honor of Knighthood on him. She accepted an invitation on board of his vessel at Deptford, and received him graciously at Court. The populace greeted him with applause, songs and epigrams were composed, describing his naval exploits, and commemorating his deeds.

If the expedition of Sir Francis Drake was successful, that of Thomas Cavendish to the East Indies was not less so. On the 21st July 1586, he set sail for the East Indies with three vessels. He crossed the Atlantic, committed some depredations on the American Coast, captured a rich Spanish frigate, visited the islands of the Indian Archipelago, touched at one of the Ladrone Islands and at Java, and, after effecting an exchange trade with the natives of those islands where he touched, returned by the Cape to England, and anchored at Plymouth after a successful voyage. He was knighted by the Queen, and the wealth which he amassed enabled him to purchase an earldom. In a few years he dissipated his large fortune, and once more returned to the East Indies. This expedition was not, however, so successful as the first, and he died whilst making his return voyage.

The successful results of these two expeditions fired the genius of the English nation, while it led to the coalition of that Company of merchant adventurers who first undertook to lay the scheme before the public of trading on an extensive scale with India.

In 1599, a Company was formed, under the title of "the Company of Merchants of London for trading with the East Indies," which, at no late period, was destined to extend its sway over some of the most fertile parts of the Indian Peninsula, to dictate its own terms to the feeble heirs of the great Mogul, and to wield the destiny of thousands.

In 1600 A. D., a royal charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth; and the privilege was conceded to them to purchase lands without limitation, and to have a monopoly of trade for 15 years with the East Indies.

At the commencement, the trade was not extensive; but small as the Company's power to trade was, and limited as their

means were, the profits were, nevertheless, large. It was not uncommon to make 100 per cent. of profits on their capital; and in some cases it even exceeded that percentage. The extensiveness of the profits made it desirable that a stricter monopoly of trade should be secured by charter. Thus, on the accession of Charles, on the renewal of the charter, one of the provisions enacted that any Englishmen found trading without a license might be seized, imprisoned, and returned to England.

Such was the commencement of that policy which has, for more than a century, influenced the Government of India.\*

That it was a policy which has not been productive of large or permanent results may well be doubted; for it has been a policy which has been based on the restrictive regulations of a monopoly, and not upon those of a liberal or colonial trade.

If the manufactures and trade of Great Britain have increased, and if the Government of India and the administration of the country have been prosperous, that increase and prosperity are not to be ascribed to the early policy of the mercantile system which first introduced a system of monopoly, but in spite of that policy. However strong the tendency might have been at first, to establish those barriers in India to free trade, it must be admitted that a gradual change in that policy has taken place—a change which is likely to result in large and permanent results for good. And that it should be otherwise, would indeed have been strange. The history of the growth of the colonial system has shown that, as a rule, the first efforts to establish a Colony must assume the form of a monopoly.

The first settlements will necessarily be made by the efforts of individuals, and not by any efforts of the State. The wealth and the resources of the richest individuals, unless supplemented by the subscribed capital of trading companies, would be unequal to contend against the competition of other nations in foreign markets and in distant countries, the shores of which, ships might reach with difficulty. The exclusiveness of the monopoly would secure them against all other competitors, and enable them to enjoy those large dividends which are frequently the results of an exclusive trade.

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\* The change of the Government to the Crown will, it is hoped, materially alter this policy. The greater the facilities for European colonization may be, the greater will be the hopes of the future amelioration of India.

Without an exclusive trade it is possible that the great risks of the trade with the East Indies would not, in the first instance, have been undertaken; nor is it improbable that, if to the first adventurers extraordinary encouragement had not been given, extraordinary risks would not have been run, and small capitals would not have been hazarded in distant or uncertain speculations. In this respect, the example which had been set by the early traders with the east from Sweden and Denmark, was copied by the first traders with the east from Great Britain.\* To effect a monopoly and to trade in a Chartered Company, was therefore the first plan of the merchant adventurers. How that policy was carried out, and how successfully the Company withstood the encroachments of all rival Companies, might be seen in the memoirs and annals of that period.

The early history of the East India Company's trade shews how successful that policy proved in the beginning. That great dividends had been obtained, there cannot be the slightest doubt. From the debates in the Houses of Parliament, from the journal of the House of Commons, from the many pamphlets which were published at that time on the statistics of the trade with the East Indies, those gains might have been said to be almost incredible. In the year 1676, so large had been the gains, that every shareholder and stockholder of the old East India Company were paid a premium which doubled the stock they held. The dividends rose proportionately. Twenty per cent. was not considered too high as an annual dividend. The Directors of the old Company soon amassed enormous wealth. Rapid fortunes were made. Speculations rose high. It has been said that more than one wealthy merchant on the Royal Exchange hazarded the greater part of his fortunes in East India shares. In the city of London, the power and the influence of the East India merchants rose high. A large edifice, not so stately as the subsequent house in Leadenhall Street, or so magnificent as the pile of buildings which now look down on Saint James's Park, was engaged by the Directors. The rooms were gloomy, the passages narrow. At present the India House might vie with any of those majestic buildings, with the exception of Buckingham Palace and the

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\* The first charter was exclusive. It prohibited the rest of the community from trading within the limits assigned to the Company.—Mill, p. 17, vol. i.

Houses of Parliament, which surround Saint James's Park, or which rise on either side of Hyde Park. Nevertheless, in those dingy offices, for many years, the great business of the Company was carried on. Treaties were signed with eastern potentates ruling over vast territories larger than many of the continental states of Europe, and war commenced or peace concluded, with native chiefs governing races, semi-civilized it is true, but exceeding in numbers twenty times the population of England. It is not many months ago that the Council of India met for the first time\* in that new building which as an administrative edifice is as superior to the Westminster Palace Hotel as the Westminster Palace Hotel was superior to the building in Leadenhall Street. The new India Office in Downing Street was fitly inaugurated by a sumptuous banquet and princely entertainment to the Sultan. Many administrative changes may be expected to emanate from that small cabinet who hold their sittings there. The old traditional and commercial policy of the East India Company is now as much a thing of the past as the old building in Leadenhall Street with its quaint façade of the Elizabethan period, and its still quaint figure-head and sign. We have been drifting," says a recent writer, "from an old into a new state of things. There has been a continual tendency towards a fusion of the Indian into the Imperial Government. The Indian army has become a part of the Imperial army. Even some departments of the old India House have merged into departments of the great Imperial establishment. The new Administration requires a building worthy of an Imperial office,† And that it has one worthy in every way as a state office for a great empire, will not be doubted by those who have visited the building since its erection. The architecture is as imposing when viewed from outside as its decorations are graceful inside. The large tower, the graceful façade as viewed from Charles Street or the Park, the Doric

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\* *Homeward Mail*, September 5, 1867.

† It may not be impossible that with a new administration, a new cabinet, new and fresh ideas, an enlightened public opinion, and a freer discussion of Indian affairs, a new state of things might be inaugurated for India. It is not improbable that before the new Indian Office is many years older, before its visage is darkened by London smoke, we shall see some changes for good or for evil, which it is difficult to calculate — *Homeward Mail*.

columns and pilasters of the lower story, the red Peterhead granitic Ionic columns of the second story, the bases of the columns of red Mansfield stone, its long line of corridors and graceful Corinthian cornice, have placed this building among the most graceful of modern architectural structures. Nor is the interior less worthy of admiration. The grand staircase leading up from the Charles Street entrance has four of the finest statues which the old East India House could offer. Leading from the entrance, might be seen Flaxman's well known statue of Warren Hastings. From it the eye might easily wander to the admirably sculptured statues of Wellesley, Wellington, Clive, and Eyre Coote. Nor are there wanting bas reliefs. Representations of Indian fruits and flowers might be seen among the architectural ornaments, while some striking incidents in Anglo-Indian History appear in bold relief,—The Signature of the treaty of Seringapatam, The Surrender of the arms of the Seikh chiefs, The Grant of the Deccan to Clive, and The Reception of the ambassador deputed by Queen Elizabeth at the Court of the Mogul. It is curious to note that not only the old statuary which had decorated the East India House in Leadenhall Street, but also much of the old furniture, is still retained at the new India House. The Secretary of State *still* sits in that chair from which, years ago, the Directors of the old East India Company thanked Clive and Hastings for the great and distinguished services rendered by them in the east. At the time, however, of which we are writing, the Company's office in the city of London was small and unpretending; and its trade-returns during the first decade, though highly promising, bore no proportion to the magnificent proportions of its future returns. The goods that were first exported consisted principally of cloth, lead, tin, and glass-ware.

In 1612, only one ship was sent to the Indian Seas; and a few years later, the establishment of a new Company in Dowgate, which held its sittings in Skinner's Hall, proved nearly fatal to the interests of the trade with the East Indies.

While the establishment of a Company was under discussion, and while the clauses of the charter were not yet defined, in the year 1600 the Queen deputed John Middenhall to the Court of Akbar. No records are left of the results of that embassy beyond the fact that he obtained a firmaun, that he was well received at Court, that he returned in a few years to England, but that subsequently, re-visiting India, he died at Agra.

In the year 1600, the consent of the Government was obtained to equip a fleet of five ships\* for an Indian voyage. Captain James Lancaster commanded the fleet; and thirty-six factors, on salaries varying with their different trusts, accompanied. On the second of May 1601, the vessels set sail from Torbay. After a prosperous voyage, they landed at Acheen in Sumatra. They found the island of Sumatra large. A chain of mountains rising in their highest point to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, added to the picturesqueness of the place. The rivers were navigable. The climate, though sultry, was bearable: tropical fruits were found in abundance. The natives were found tractable, and readily entered into a treaty of commerce; and for such articles or implements of iron-ware as Lancaster's crew had with them, they offered in exchange those natural products of their island—pepper and benzoin, cassia and camphor, aloes, spices, and fruits. Amicable arrangements having been concluded, the vessels set sail for Java.

Captain Lancaster delivered his letters, and, after leaving an agent behind, returned in 1603 to England, after making a considerable percentage of profits for his employers, the East India Company of adventurers.

In ten years subsequently, eight other voyages were made to the east. The success of those voyages created some opposition on the part of the Portuguese, and in 1611, defeating a large Portuguese armament, the English succeeded in landing at Surat.

The first impressions of Surat were not calculated to impress the English favorably with the wealth and the civilization of India. Nearly half a century later, Tavernier,\* in that pleasant and graphic style which makes his travels so readable and interesting, described Surat† as a town with a wretched fort, with dwellings built of mud which resemble barns, shut in by reeds dabbed with wattle and mud. A century later, in manufacturing and commercial prosperity it rivalled Bombay, when Bombay

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\* It might be curious to note the names of the five vessels which thus first sailed for India. They were the *Scourge*, the *Susan*, the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and a pinnace.

† Tavernier, born at Paris 1605, and died at Moscow, 1689. He travelled through Persia and Turkey and India six times. His large fortune, with which he purchased the barony of Aubonnee, was acquired in the east.

‡ Calcutta Review, vol. ix., p. 106.



had not yet attained to its political or maritime importance. Its streets, like the streets of Grand Cairo or of Alexandria, were lined with oriental shops. Picturesque and curiously dressed groups of natives, from different parts of India, might be seen walking or crowding its thoroughfares. Turks and Arabians, Armenians and Parsees, the newly tamed and half-disciplined native soldiers, groups of British soldiers off duty, oriental women shrouded in a mass of drapery or conveyed in covered carriages, the oriental costume of the armed Mahratta Chiefs and their followers, lent an interest to the general appearance of the town of Surat\*. At present, the commerce of Surat is confined to the export of cotton and of grain. European capitalists and merchants prefer the greater advantages of Bombay as a trading port.

The Civil Collectorate is not so large as those of some of the neighbouring stations. The large and picturesque burial-ground attached to the Old Church of the station, lined with funereal trees, and full of monumental tablets, or old and worn, or ruinous tomb stones, indicated the last resting places of successive generations of the servants sent out by the East India Company to administer its affairs in the provinces adjoining the Taptee.†

In the year 1612, the English obtained a royal edict from Jehangir to establish a factory there. Forty-five years later, so greatly had the town increased in importance, that the East India Company ordered that the administration of all its possessions should then be placed under the direct control of the President and Council of Surat. The decree of the Emperor Jehangir offering protection to the factories, was received in 1613; and from that year must date the first permanent connexion of the British with India and the east.

The feeling of jealousy engendered by a concession of this nature on the part the Mogul Emperor, was not allowed to remain long dormant. Open hostilities were soon commenced. A Portuguese fleet burnt the town of Broach. Another, commanded by the Portuguese Viceroy in person, anchored off

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\* Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, I., 151.

† A curious illustration of the rapid growth of an Indian town might be found in the rise of Surat. In 1530, when the Portuguese had first captured the town, its population was estimated at 10,000 only. In 1838, that population had increased to 133,544.

Swally. The naval engagements which, however, followed, proved disastrous to the prestige which the Portuguese had already acquired ; and the Mogul Court, without offering any interference, looked with pleasure on the checks thus given to an enemy whose encroachments and whose power they had alike learnt to view with anxiety, if not with dismay.

It was at this juncture that Sir Thomas Roe was deputed as ambassador to the Court of the Emperor Jehangir. At his Court he remained, four years, and the curious and interesting account left by him of the Court and Camp of the great Mogul, forms one of the most interesting accessions to works on oriental literature and oriental politics. During his residence in the east, he made some valuable collections of ancient manuscripts, among the most curious and most interesting of which must be classed the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament. Some of the more valuable of his collections may still be seen at the Bodleian Library. The Mogul Emperor received Sir Thomas Roe with as much consideration as it was in his nature to bestow on any ambassador, offered to redress some of the grievances complained of, and ratified a treaty by which he conceded to the English nation the right to establish factories and to trade with any part of the Mogul Empire, Surat and Bengal especially.

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## ART.—VII.—THE LABOUR DIFFICULTY IN BENGAL.

THE impediment to, we might almost say the annihilation of, material progress in Assam, owing to the difficulty in obtaining hired labour, is known to every one who has ever looked into a report on tea cultivation, public works, or surveys in that province. In many parts of it really voluntary labour is almost unknown; no amount of wages will induce a native of Assam to place his personal services at the disposal of another for hire: but it is far less known that a similar difficulty is threatening to extend rapidly over Bengal, that in many parts of the country, especially in the eastern districts, there are symptoms of the rapid absorption of the cooly classes, and the prospect is not so remote of the same problem being re-produced which has been and is so insoluble in Assam, *viz.*, how to obtain a supply of labour at reasonable rates, and how to carry out many of the most necessary works if such labour be not forthcoming.

We have a firm conviction that this question will before long assume a prominence which is not fully realised by those who have not been brought face to face with the difficulty, and our object in the present paper is to draw general attention to the magnitude and importance of the danger which we believe to be impending. We are therefore glad to observe that it has attracted the notice of the Bengal Government, and that the following circular was issued in January last calling upon all the Commissioners to report upon the subject :—

“ The Lieutenant-Governor has reason to believe, from numerous reports which reach him on the subject, that the hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriage generally in the Lower Provinces, is annually on the increase, and that in many places it is difficult to obtain any regular supply even at exorbitant rates.

“ 2. I am accordingly directed to request that, after communication with the local officers, you will be so good as to report upon this subject, with more especial reference to the following points :—

“ (1.) Whether there is any ground for supposing that of late years the rise in the price of bearers and coolies in your division has been out of proportion to the general enhance-

“ment of prices, and of the value of agricultural labour in the districts of your division.

“(2.) Whether the difficulty in procuring carriage or coolies, even at an increased cost, is greater now than formerly.

“(3.) If so, to what causes the increase of price and the difficulty of procuring labour should be attributed.

“(4.) You should report on the possibility of remedying these evils if they exist in your division, and whether any more efficacious measures than those already in force can be suggested for organising on sound principles efficient services of bearers or coolies to meet the wants of travellers generally.”

We could have wished that the circular had been more entirely directed to the general labour question. The wording of it seems to show that the Government had more particularly in its mind the complaints of travellers and the extortionate prices of palkee-bearers, which is only a part of the much larger question : but still the enquiry extended to coolies of all kinds, and in their replies, which have been kindly placed at our service, some of the Commissioners show that they realise the vital importance of the subject on which they are reporting, and are aware that the difficulty is not confined to travelling only.

Before, however, proceeding to discuss these replies and the facts to which they testify, it is important to obtain a clear view of the abstract character of the question which is attaining such practical importance in Bengal—what is the precise meaning of the assertion that labour is getting disastrously scarce or dear, and that the prosperity of the country must be seriously endangered if it continues ?

It is of course obvious enough that every community must not merely thrive, but even exist by the labour of its members, and this labour may practically be divided into two large classes :—

1st.—Those who are engaged in educated and literate labour or in the administration and direction of labour, such as officials, professional men, supervisors, contractors, merchants, tradesmen.

2nd.—Those who are engaged in manual and illiterate labour, and who produce by the work of their bodies rather than of their head, though there must be, of course, a certain amount of intelligence even in the humblest occupations.

The latter class is again divisible into two large sections: those who employ their labour in their own service, and those who let it out to others for hire ; and this last is the class

which we refer to when we speak of coolies ; we mean all those who are ready to employ their bodily labour on behalf of others for hire only, and without any other share in the produce of that labour.

Now, it is useless to deny that this class, which is the lowest generally in the social scale, is of very great importance to any community, above all to the Indian community, and specially with respect to such works as are for the public good. No road can be constructed without cooly labor, no tank dug, no pukka house built. Conservancy operations, drainage, &c., travelling, even funeral rites, are more or less dependent on this class. Agricultural labour is in India hardly to be ranked in the same class. In many cases men labour on land rented by themselves ; the external labour they require is either mutually lent from one to the other ; or when this is not done, the labourer is frequently paid by a share of the profits ; but with the sole exception of agriculture, all useful works undertaken by Government, all beneficial employment of capital in the interior, is mainly dependent upon the supply of hired labour. It follows, therefore, that the material prosperity of the country greatly depends on the abundance and the cheapness of this supply ; and when we speak of cheapness, it must be remembered that we use the term relatively. There is no particular reason why an agricultural labourer should receive more than a cooly ; it is desirable indeed that a cooly should be paid enough to support himself without degradation, but it is not desirable that that kind of labour which is most needed for the development of capital should be at a *higher* price than other manual and illiterate labour, and therefore that capital should be driven away from the country, and public works stunted by their enormous cost.

It is hardly too much to say, then, that a supply of labour at a moderate rate is a necessity of good government, if not of government at all, in any State that deserves the name. The fact that other Governments situated not unlike that of Bengal, such as the Governments of the Mauritius, of Demerara, establish expensive agencies in India to recruit labourers, shows this. Our own experience in Assam most abundantly shows it. Not only is the cost of all public works, as well as of such departments as the survey, enormously increased, but even at this increased cost operations are frequently at a standstill through want of labour.

In Bengal it is evident that it must be the ruin of the country if it goes on extending as it has done recently. We

lately saw an estimate for a school-house prepared in 1864, which, not having been built at the time, has had to be increased 25 per cent., because the building is deferred to 1868. In some stations east of Calcutta, for example at Jessore, the cost of labour is so high that no one will build a house, though the station is terribly in need of them. Public works, communications, sanitary operations, in fact the most useful and necessary works of society, are coming to a stand-still on account of the scarcity and cost of labour. Moreover, the price of labour re-acts upon a number of other occupations, especially on the Police. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that not only the material *progress*, but even the material well-being of the country, must be ruined if labour is to become as it is in Assam.

Now, the important question for decision is whether this rapid increase in price and diminution in numbers in the supply of cooly labour is temporary and passing, and will tend to right itself; or whether it is due to causes which are permanent and durable. For this purpose we must go back again, first, to general principles, and then to their special application to Bengal. It is indispensable to a right view of the question to recognise the fact that in respect to the scarcity and price of labour, Bengal is only an exaggerated instance of what is going on all over the world in all countries where the system of free competition is fully in force. It must be remembered that till very recently there were many artificial or natural checks on this system in England. The scanty extension of education rendered the professions and educated employments the province of a very limited number of persons; national trades were protected, agriculture especially so; the navy was filled by means of the press-gang, and not by the natural principle of supply and demand; emigration from Ireland had hardly commenced, and the then redundant Irish population, impoverished by circumstances and policy, afforded a ready supply for the army at a low price. It is only, therefore, for forty or fifty years that the system of free competition has been in full unchecked swing in England, while in all other European countries the conscription for the army, which annually draws off a large portion of the population, and compels them to serve for next to nothing, necessarily affects the price of labour, and perpetuates the existence of a large class who are accustomed to turn their hand to anything and lend their labour to others without enforcing the market price which such real labour could

command. We do not mean to say that a conscription and a large army are beneficial to the prosperity of a country—quite the contrary—but merely that the existence of a large army recruited by compulsion and paid a bare subsistence allowance, and then after a certain number of years thrown back upon their own resources, necessarily unsettles the natural operation of the laws of competition, and prevents their having their full effect.

It is therefore evident that the natural tendencies of free competition should only recently have fully manifested themselves; and the effects are not difficult to trace. The result of free competition is to enable every one to dispose of his labour in whatever manner he pleases, and therefore to cause the remuneration of every class of labour to vary according to (a) the expense and rareness of the preparatory education or training requisite to qualify a person for that occupation; and (b) the pleasantness of the occupation, including the honour and esteem in which it is held. Now, manual labour for wages, under the control of another person, is generally regarded as less pleasant and dignified than manual labour on one's own account (especially in India), and manual labour of every kind is less estimable, and generally thought less pleasant, than intellectual labour, or labour in a position of control and responsibility. Hence, though the quality and expensiveness of the education and training which this latter kind of labour requires, as compared with the far less expense which it takes to produce a qualified manual labourer, will still tend to keep the remuneration of intellectual labour above that of manual or mechanical, yet this tendency will be partly counteracted by the superior attractions of this kind of work, and that the more and more as the general spread of education places the opportunity of a career of educated labour within the reach of a greater number. The result is that in England menial service has long been at a high price for males who have so many other careers open to them. The esteem and honour in which the clerical profession has been held, and the aversion to menial labour, has long led to the result that a curate, after having gone through all the expenses of a public school and university education, can scarcely command a higher remuneration, board and lodging being taken into account, than a footman, still less than a butler; and the same enhancement in the cost of manual labour is increasing rapidly in other quarters more rapidly than many persons are aware of. Redundant population and the extreme poverty of many persons keep down, and probably will keep down, the price of

the most inferior kinds of occupation, *viz.*, those which require no preparatory training at all ; for labour of this kind, where any person who has the use of his hands can engage in the competition, is so keen that the price cannot rise very much : but when we rise a degree higher, and compare labour which requires a more intellectual and mental training, and where the work is sedentary, with labour which requires a more physical and bodily training, the work of which requires manual exertion, we find at once that the tendency is to prefer the former, and consequently to lower and degrade the remuneration which it can command, while those who take to the latter are able to stand out for almost fabulous wages. An extract from the *Fortnightly Review* for January last is very much to the point as illustrating this :—

“ On the other hand, with what almost angry surprise some of us during the iron-master’s lock-out of 1865 heard for the first time of the wages which some descriptions of iron-workers get ! How, we exclaimed, on being told of shinglers with nearly five pounds, and of plate-rollers and rail-rollers with as much as five, seven, even ten guineas a week,—say from nearly three hundred to between six and seven hundred pounds a year ? What business have mere mechanics—fellows with grimed faces and grubby hands—with rates of pay so ill-accordant with the station of life to which it hath pleased God to call them ? Why, as a Quarterly Reviewer piteously puts it, Lieutenant-Colonels in Her Majesty’s Foot Guards have less than the highest of these rates, and passing rich among parsons are those whose tithe commutation comes up to the lowest.

“ For now we come to think of it what solitary reason, based on natural fitness, can be assigned why there should be any difference in the pay of manual and intellectual labour, yes even of the meanest manual and of the noblest intellectual ? \* \* \* Not surely that a hard day’s work costs less of exertion to a hand-worker than to a head-worker ? The lawyer or accountant who may fancy that it does, had better take a turn at the plough or the forge, and see whether, by the end of the day, he will not be quite as much done up as if he had passed the whole of it in court or in the counting-house. Is it then because head-work demands for its performance higher faculties than hand-work ? He is but a shallow pretender to these higher faculties who does not feel that their very exercise



"is, in itself, a privilege carrying with it its own abundant and appropriate reward, and as for those who, knowing this, nevertheless fancy that because they get the pick of the work, therefore they are entitled to extra pay, may they not be fairly likened to these Turkish janissaries who, after eating a peasant out of house and home, used to exact additional piastres for wear and tear of their teeth during the process?" \* \* \*

"There is, in short, only a single, though at the same time an all-sufficient reason why professional or literate labour is generally entitled to larger remuneration than manual or illiterate, and that is, that owing to various circumstances, among which the special education it requires is but one, it can generally command a better price. It is generally entitled to more, because circumstances generally enable it to get more. But if circumstances should be so changed as to admit of manual labour getting as much or more than professional labour, manual labour would clearly become similarly entitled."

This extract clearly shows that in England the remuneration of manual and illiterate labour is beginning to out run that of intellectual and literate; it dwells but little on the circumstances which have hitherto made it the opposite, but the principal among them obviously were the cost of the special education, and the limited number of persons who could undergo that cost, and therefore the limited supply of persons qualified for such labour. The large share which Government is now bearing in the expense of education is decreasing the cost to the individual, and setting all individuals in a position of greater equality; the increase of wealth is also independently operating to enable more persons to offer themselves as candidates for intellectual and literate occupation, and as such occupations are regarded as more pleasurable and more honorable than illiterate and manual occupations, the natural result is that the price which the latter can command is increasing, while the former is deteriorating.

Now, we quite admit, as the reviewer urges, that there is nothing in the nature of things to entitle intellectual labour to higher remuneration than manual, but there is something in the constitution of society which renders it exceedingly desirable that the former should succeed in obtaining this higher remuneration. The wealthier members of the community must always exercise the larger share of influence, direct or indirect:

tastes, fashions, public amusements, and public opinion, are all affected far more by the wealthier than by the more indigent classes. If the family of the clergyman, the doctor, the lawyer, and the Government officer can only manage to obtain food and necessary clothing, and the labouring class can afford to take in the daily papers, patronise the shops and libraries, and fill the theatres and clubs, it must follow that society will take its tone from them, and not from the classes engaged in intellectual occupations. The result will be that the less qualified and less refined classes will rule the more qualified and more refined as far as occupations are concerned, and the body politic will be in the position of a man whose appetites have acquired the control over his intellect. A young country like America, with still inexhaustible territories, with no old traditions of class enmities to weight it, cannot be a complete specimen of the effects of this tendency, but still it affords some illustration of it, and bad as politics are becoming in England, our House of Commons has not yet been reduced to the level of the House of Representatives, nor our officials to the placemen (carpet-baggers, as the new word is) of Washington.

But it is not our object to show that the great rise in the price of manual and mechanical labour is threatening the prosperity or good government of England or any other western country. Whatever the effects of this revolution may be there, labour will never be wanting, and competition will keep it at a workable limit, even if it does lead or has led to a transfer of power and influence. But will it do so in Bengal? Can we rely on a redundant population to force certain persons to have recourse to cooly labour, and will the want of any training compel such a competition as will keep its price down to a reasonable figure?

There are certain elements in Bengal which it is essentially necessary to recollect when we compare our labour prospects with those of western countries :—(1) agricultural labour is looked upon as more honourable and desirable than ordinary cooly labour, especially agricultural labour on a man's own land or on that of a neighbour by way of mutual assistance; (2) Bengal is in general so fertile that it produces more than enough to support its population, whereas not more than two-thirds of the food required for England is produced in that country. If the population of England has now from other causes risen to such a level that one-third of its food must be imported from other countries, a large amount of non-agricultural work must be done in order to provide that wherewith to induce other

countries to part with their surplus food. Non-agricultural labour is therefore a necessity in England if its population keep up to the present level, but no such necessity exists in Bengal. In a climate like this most of the absolute wants of the population can be supplied for the produce of the soil. What few wants there are over and above this can be procured by exporting the surplus produce. Even therefore if we had not the living illustration of Assam before our eyes, we ought to have no difficulty in perceiving that the natural laws of supply and demand do not supply any necessary corrective to the difficulty which we have to face. There is nothing to prevent the lower classes from devoting themselves exclusively to agriculture, and refusing, except at a totally prohibitory price, to turn their hand to any kind of labour, except building their own mud huts. A few of the national trades, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, &c., would retain their vitality; but roads, bridges, embankments, good tanks, pukka houses, might one by one disappear, unless Government undertook the task of keeping them up by paying fabulous prices for the necessary labour: and even then in a country like India, where mere competition is so absolutely powerless in the face of custom and habit, it is quite conceivable that the cooly class having once disappeared, even a fabulous price would scarcely tempt a man, who looked upon himself as above a cooly, to undertake a cooly's work.

Including what we have just referred to, it appears to us that the following causes are at work, in the Lower Provinces especially, to diminish the supply and enhance the price of cooly labour.

I. The kind of labour which is regarded as the least honourable and estimable.

II. The natural effeminacy and inactivity of the people, which leads them to abhor manual and physical labour as much as possible, and to aim at sedentary and mental occupations, even more than in colder countries. From both of these reasons it follows that few men by choice will have recourse to the former occupations unless stimulated by far higher wages than any other occupations can procure for them.

III. The fertility of the soil and a not-superabundant population.

If to this is added that the crop is obtained with comparatively very little personal labour, it follows that the aversion to cooly labour, which is more severe, will be increased.

IV. The classes which at present afford a supply of coolies necessarily and naturally tend to decrease, while they receive no corresponding accession from, other classes. There is nothing to prevent a cooly saving from his comparatively large earnings, and buying or renting land and thereby becoming independent in the next generation; there is nothing to prevent his or his children's rising in any other manner; but it is disgraceful and degrading for any high caste man, or even a man of any occupation above that of a cooly, to become a cooly, and hence such persons will endure almost any amount of misery and want rather than do so.

V. The spread of education. Any person who has even the smallest education, regards himself as entitled to, some intellectual and literate employment, however long his parents may have been labourers. The well-known case of Dr. Anderson and the children of the mallees of the Botanical Gardens fully illustrates this. Education is still so very sparsely spread among the bulk of the population, that we do not think that it has much effect at present on the supply of cooly labour, though it will have hereafter, if it progresses much on its present system. At present the connection between education and cooly labour is rather this, that common causes, *viz.*, effeminacy, shrinking from physical, and aiming at intellectual and sedentary employment tend to improve the prospects of education and to eliminate the class of cooly labourers. Hence the progress of education is a very good *index* of the destruction of the class of coolies, though these are not cause and effect at present, but proceed only from common causes.

Let us then now apply these causes to the reports before us. We propose to confine ourself to the Regulation Divisions, because in Assam, as is well known, there never has been any cooly labour to speak of during the present century, at least *voluntary* cooly labour, while in Chota Nagpore on the contrary the physique of the people is quite different, the soil is comparatively barren, the people are not Hindoos, and cooly labour never has been scarce, nor is anything, unless it be emigration, likely to make it so. The remaining Non-Regulation Division, Cooch Behar, is too *nondescript*, including as it does such dissimilar districts as Gowalparah and Darjeeling, to present any uniform result.

Turning, then, to the eight Regulation Divisions, it is easy to see where the costliness or scarcity (for they arise from the same cause) of cooly labour, ought to be most apparent. In Behar

as in Chota Nagpore the population is far more masculine than in Bengal, and the climate less enervating. Agriculture is in less exclusive favour, and people follow their old occupations undisturbed by the influence of European nations far more than in the Bengal Districts. The educational 'index' also points in the same direction. The progress made by the grant in-aid system is almost *nil* in Behar, and English schools few and far between. The very same remarks apply with more or less precision to Orissa. The men are certainly more robust than in Bengal, and the climate less enervating. The progress of Anglicism, if we may use the word, is slow, and education of the modern type backward. Rajshaye is the only division the report from which does not entirely tally with our anticipations. We should have expected to find that the enervating character of the climate and the fertility of the soil had already produced the effect of enhancing the price of coolies, though schools and western ideas have not made much progress in that quarter. The Burdwan Division consists of two very different kinds of soil and climate. The western portion, in which are located the stations of Sooree, Raneegunge, Bancoorah, and Midnapore, is sterile and stony, the climate hot and dry as in Behar, and the people comparatively active. The eastern portion however, especially the Districts of Hooghly, Howrah, and part of Midnapore, is composed of the alluvial valley of Bengal: the soil is fertile; the climate, enervating and damp: the contrast between the educational progress in these two sections of the division is also very marked.

The Presidency and Dacca Divisions almost and the whole of the Chittagong Division contain all the causes which we have enumerated as tending to destroy the supply of coolies. An agriculturist is regarded as above a cooly; the climate is enervating; and the people effeminate and averse to physical exertion. The soil is very fertile; the produce is more than sufficient for the food of the inhabitants; and conversely education has here reached its highest development, and English schools are planted thick all over the country.

With these preparatory remarks we come to the reports before us. It will be remembered that the enquiry of Government was directed to ascertain whether certain classes of labour had increased in costliness *out of proportion* to the general increase in price. This distinction was an obviously correct one, since the value of money may alter, and 4 annas in 1868 be the real equivalent of 2 annas in 1848. If, however, the rise be

out of proportion, then it would necessarily be due to other causes.

The Commissioner of Patna writes :—

"2. With reference to the first point on which information is called for, all the district officers, except the Magistrate of Sarun, are of opinion that there does not exist any ground for supposing that the rise in price of bearers and coolies has been out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices and of the value of agricultural labour. The Magistrate of Sarun observes that during the last four years the rise in the rate of hire of coolies and bearers has increased with the dearth of articles of food. This rise has remained stationary in spite of the fall in prices that has since taken place. He does not consider, however, that Government interference is in any way necessary to regulate the cost of labour, which after all is not so great as to be a general cause of complaint.

"3. With regard to the second point, the majority of the district officers state the difficulty of procuring bearers and coolies in their district is not greater now than formerly. In Shahabad and Gya, on the other hand, it is admitted that palkee-bearers and coolies are somewhat more scarce. This is accounted for on the following grounds :—

"The opening of the Railway has in a great measure superseded the necessity of palkee dâk traffic through both districts; the demand, therefore, for bearers has decreased. Hence the bearers, finding little or no employment, have either taken to agriculture or have left for other districts where palkee travelling is still resorted to. The Railway affords employment to a large body of coolies, and the number available for the public generally has therefore somewhat diminished.

"4. None of the Magistrates consider the difficulty of obtaining bearers and coolies so great as to call for the adoption of any special measures."

The Commissioner of Bhaugulpore writes much to the same effect. He says :—

"In reply to your letter No. 178 of the 10th January last, I beg to inform you that from the reports received from local officers, it appears that the rate of hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, &c., has increased of late years, but not out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices and the value of agricultural labour.

"2. Indeed, as regards palkee-bearers, the rise seems scarcely in keeping with them. It is also to be observed that

" the increase in rate of hire varies very much. Everywhere  
 " near the Railway and through the Deoghur District, where  
 " the Chord line is under construction, the rise is greater than in  
 " the extreme south and in the northern parts of Monghyr  
 " and Bhaugulpore or in Purneah. As instances of the rate  
 " of rise, I would mention that nineteen years ago I paid for  
 " carts to accompany me in this district on my cold weather  
 " tours as Superintendent of Survey, Rupees 8 a month. They  
 " can now be had for 10. From Rajmehal to Maldah (24 miles)  
 " a palkee-bearer used to get 15 annas, whereas now he gets  
 " 1-4. The price of cooly labour has, however, increased more.

" 3. I do not think there is generally any greater difficulty  
 " in procuring labour now than formerly if the enhanced price  
 " be given. But for some kinds of work the indigenous labour,  
 " though apparently the cheapest, is the least suited, and ultimately the dearest. Outside labour is therefore employed at  
 " rates which of course appear high even in comparison with  
 " the increase of prices. Thus on the Chord line, in connection  
 " with the sinking of wells for bridges, a number of Chittagong  
 " lascars are employed, while for the earthwork on the embank-  
 " ments three out of four of the men and women come from  
 " Gya, Arrah, Goruckpore, and even further north." \* \* \*

The Commissioner of Cuttack also writes in a hopeful strain, and does not apprehend any serious difficulties:—

" In reply to your No 178, dated 10th January 1868, I do  
 " not consider that the rise in prices paid to bearers and coolies  
 " in this division has been out of proportion to the general  
 " enhancement of prices and of the value of agricultural labour.  
 " This opinion is shared by all District Collectors. I should,  
 " however, observe that the value of agricultural labour is not  
 " fully represented by the actual money-payments of wages.  
 " It is customary for agricultural labourers to receive allowances  
 " of grain and food from their employers, sometimes in lieu of,  
 " and sometimes in addition to, money wages.

" 2. There has occasionally been difficulty in procuring dāk-  
 " bearers and banghi-burdars. This was much felt during the  
 " famine, and was due partly to great mortality among the  
 " labouring classes and partly to their reduced condition render-  
 " ing them unable or averse to undertake hard work. This has  
 " been partly remedied by return of plenty and cheaper food,  
 " and also by the raising of the rates of hire of palkee-bearers  
 " from 4 to 5 annas per stage. The difficulty is gradually  
 " being removed, and, except at one or two stages where there

“ are no resident bearers, and men have to be sent for from long distances requiring timely notice, no difficulty occurs.

“ 3. There is a very great demand for carriage and also for labour by the Public Works Department and by the Irrigation Company, and the natural effect of this demand has been a slight increase in the general rates of hire. This is a proper and legitimate result which cannot and should not be interfered with. Labourers can dispose of their services in the best market. For carts and bullocks there is a similar demand, and a consequent somewhat higher rate paid. I believe the Irrigation Company are willing to employ every available man or woman who will work, but even with this demand I have heard no complaints by private parties of excessive difficulty in procuring either labour or carriage. \* \* \*

“ 5. There is a stereotyped idea very current among travellers, and particularly among Europeans, that the hire of a gharry or of a cooly should be 8 annas or 4 annas a day on stage, and that any charge over and above this or some other imaginary and arbitrary rate, is an imposition. There is also a disposition to grumble or to drive hard bargains, and not to treat the bearers or carters with due consideration, which often leads to their preferring to work for native contractors or mahajans at less wages than they will willingly take from travellers, and hence probably arises much of the difficulty complained of.

“ 6. As traffic and travelling increase and extend, and the demand for carriage increases, roads are being opened out all over the country, and where these roads are metalled and completed, wheeled conveyances will gradually come more into use, though in the interior travellers may suffer some inconvenience and increased expenses. I think the difficulty will gradually work its own cure without the interposition of Government, which can only be exercised on sound principles by establishing and maintaining regular relays of bearers and coolies, and charging the extra cost to travellers for whose convenience they are kept up. So far the supply of bearers, coolies, and carriage in Cuttack Division, is not so deficient as to warrant any extraordinary resources. The existing Dâk Rules are generally sufficient for all purposes.”

Thus far the reports entirely corroborate our anticipations *a priori*. There is a decided rise in price, but perhaps not out of proportion ; there are here and there indications of uneasiness ; prices rise easily, but do not easily fall again, and the coolies



seem to have the best of the struggle between wages and capital, but there are supposed to be no grounds for serious apprehension.

The Commissioner of Rajshahye reports very briefly, and, as we have already said, does not confirm entirely our anticipations. The following extract contains all that bears closely upon our enquiry :—

“ In reply to your No. 178 of 10th January last, I have the honor to state that after consultation with the district officers, I am of opinion that in this division the hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriage generally, is not annually on the increase.

“ That, the rate of hire has increased of late years, there can be no doubt ; but I do not think the increase has been out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices or the value of agricultural labour.

“ I do not think that there is any greater difficulty in procuring carriage or coolies now than formerly, provided they are paid a fair rate of wages ; consequently the third point mooted in your letter requires no answer.” \* \* \*

It will be seen, however, that the Commissioner admits that the rise in the price of cooly labour has been unquestionable, and with due deference to his better opportunities of judging, we cannot but think that he is mistaken when he declares that it is *not* out of proportion to the general rise of prices. Prices of grain rose very much about the years 1860 and 1861, but it must not be forgotten that they declined again afterwards, and we believe that if there is a similar crop in 1869, over the whole country, as there was (say) in 1859, the price of it will not be much higher than it was in that year.

The Commissioner of Burdwan reports as follows :—

“ In compliance with the orders of Government, contained in your letter No. 178, dated the 10th January last, I have the honor to report that in the Districts of Bancoorah, Beerbhoom, and Midnapore, there is not any reason for supposing that the hire of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriages, has increased out of proportion to the general rise of prices and the value of agricultural labour, or that there is any great difficulty in procuring them.

“ 2. Contrasted to these are the Districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, and Howrah, in which the hire of bearers, &c., especially coolies, in the last named district, has increased more or less disproportionately, and the difficulties of procuring them

“ even at increased rates are said to be likewise greater than formerly.

“ 3. The cause is attributable to the Railway, the Docking Company in Howrah, employment in Calcutta, and emigration to the tea districts drawing them off.

“ 4. The evil is not one which can last long ; concurrently with it is already to be seen a marked increase of mobility on the part of the general population. If a remedy, however, is urgently wanted, I think the best form it could take would be that of paying a part of the wages of the labourer to his family at home. The family do not at present benefit much by the high wages, because the temptations of Calcutta and the Railway consume the money. I believe the coolies do honestly intend to save money in Calcutta, but cannot resist the temptations around them. The family is disappointed and starved, and set their face against any second proposal to leave them.” \* \* \* \* \*

We cannot refrain from pointing out that this report, weak and impotent as its conclusions are, is a very remarkable confirmation of the theories we have been urging. It affords a crucial test of those principles, since the districts which are contrasted with each other are adjacent and in the same division, and at the same time differ so completely in soil and climate.

The very districts in which the soil is laterite, and the climate comparatively dry, are those where no difficulty occurs ; while those in which the soil is alluvial, and the climate damp and enervating, are those where increased prices and increased difficulty are more or less observable. Moreover, Mr. Herschell's testimony is of the more value, because he does not share those theories which his facts prove.

He regards the difficulty as temporary, and attributes it to the Railway, the Docking Company at Howrah, employment in Calcutta, and emigration to the tea districts.

The Railway no doubt increases the *price of coolies*, but its tendency is rather to facilitate than render more difficult the obtaining of them. The effect of Calcutta is the same. The *steady permanent* demand of Calcutta and the large public works in its neighbourhood, and the large remuneration which coolies can obtain, attract numbers from all parts of the country, and thereby create a cool population, which prevents any great difficulty in obtaining labour, though it must be paid for at very high rates in those localities. But these coolies, as their very language conclusively shows, do not come in any sensible

proportion from the Hooghly, Howrah, and Burdwan Districts; they come almost entirely from Orissa, Behar, and Up-country. As to emigration, surely Mr. Herschell knows that recruiting is active in those very portions of his division where he reports 'no difficulty,' viz., Bancoorah, Rangeegunge, and Beerbhoom, while the cooly contractors would soon die of starvation if they had to support themselves from the number of coolies they can obtain in the other districts, which he considers affected by the emigration. Evidently the causes he gives only partly account for the high price, and in no way for the scarcity of labourers other than agricultural; and his testimony to the fact of their existence in the districts where they ought to be looked for, and of their absence from the districts where the causes which we are insisting upon are absent, is most unimpeachable.

Mr. Chapman's report as to the state of the Presidency Division sufficiently supports our view, though he unfortunately shares in adopting what has been called the *laissez faire* principle in dealing with this difficulty, and deludes himself into thinking that time will rectify, instead of, as is really the case, intensify the difficulty. He writes:—

"In reply to Government order No. 178, dated 10th January 1868, I have the honor to report as follows the opinions of the officers of this division:—

"2. *First*.—The price of bearers and coolies has risen largely of late years, but not more largely than agricultural labour, and not, except as to palkee-bearers in some parts, out of proportion to the general enhancement of prices.

"3. *Second*.—The difficulty of procuring coolies and bearers has probably increased, but not, I think, the difficulty of procuring carts.

"4. *Third*.—There being no disproportionate increase in the "price of labourers, I need not account for such increase as there is. As to the difficulty of procuring labourers, especially as to the difficulty of procuring bearers, several plausible causes are alleged as follows:—

"(1.) The profits of agricultural labour have largely increased so as to attract all classes.

"(2.) The demand for labour for Railways, and such like, has been of late very large.

"(3.) The introduction of Railways and of wheeled carriages has diminished the demand for palkee-bearers, and made the trade inconstant and precarious; such labour, unless it be constant, is peculiarly severe and distressing.

"5. *Fourth*.—All the officers of the division earnestly deprecate any interference of Government in the matter, and I entirely concur with them that it is uncalled for and impracticable. Such interference could be effectual only in one of two ways: either we must revert to a system of forced labour for the convenience of travellers, a system much belauded by some gentlemen (if applied to any one but themselves), but which I need not seriously discuss, or we must at the public expense keep up relays of bearers for the use of travellers."

It will be seen that Mr. Chapman's attention is too much directed to the question of palkee-bearers alone, but he afterwards forwarded some extracts from a report by the able District Officer of Jessore, whose erroneous views about leaving time to work out a cure we can forgive, in gratitude for his admirable review of the question.

The extracts given by the Commissioner are as follows. We take the liberty of italicising certain passages.

"*Para. 30½*.—While on my tour, I made various attempts to procure statistics as to the state of the labour market in the district, but I never could procure figures, and the result which I procured consisted of simple statements, which I believe on the whole to be correct, but which, although I have tested them by information derived from all parts of the district, I cannot represent in figures.

"31. The classes who used to labour, and who still do labour, are the Kyburtas, Bagdis, Gwalas, Moochees, Chundals, Kapali, and Boonas amongst the Hindoos, and Mussulmans of all sects. It is difficult to ascertain the proportion of Mussulman to Hindoo labourers; it varies in different parts, being in some parts two-thirds, in others one-third, one-fourth, and much lower. The principal Mussulman parts of the district are in the south of the Sudder Sub-Division, Bagerhat generally, some parts of Jhenida, and the middle of Magoorah: Narrail again and all down the Bhyrub is strongly Hindoo.

"32. The wages of coolies, mistries, bricklayers, ghuramies, &c., have nearly doubled within the last twenty years; and even at the high rate now prevailing, great difficulty is experienced in procuring labour.

"33. The reason of this lies in many circumstances as stated by the people amongst whom enquiries have been made.

"34. Different opinions are entertained as to whether the number of labourers has actually decreased, i. e., whether the

men are not in existence, or whether the number has been decreased only relatively, *i. e.*, whether the men are there but not available.

"35. I have no doubt that the latter opinion is correct, and that the numbers of labourers are there but not available, because the men find employment elsewhere and in other pursuit.

"36. There can be no doubt that the extension of railways, of roads, and public works, has a two-fold effect on the labour market. It not only attracts local labour from the district while the roads are in progress, but it removes it afterwards by increasing facilities to the labourer to leave his district. In all districts which lie near to the rail and to Calcutta, this two-fold effect must be particularly felt. And it has been so felt in this district in all parts, and specially in the northern portion of the district to which the Railway is most adjacent.

"37. It will be noted that in former times not only was the labour to a great extent localized, but it was to a very considerable extent forced, or *begari*. I have no doubt, and I have taken pains to enquire into this, that this *begari* system has become almost entirely extinct, and the facilities given by the improvement of communications has undoubtedly, along with, of course, improved judicial and criminal executive administration, a good deal to do with this. Whatever be the real cause, labour has ceased to be, as it necessarily was before, localized, and facilities of transfer of labour have undoubtedly caused a diminution of the local supply.

"38. *The chief cause of the diminution*, however, has been the growing prosperity of the agriculturalist class, the rise in the price of food of all kinds having largely benefited the producing class.

"39. *I never heard of any instances in which cultivators become coolies or day-labourers*, except under very exceptional circumstances, such as after the cyclone, when labour was at a very unusual premium. *Very many instances might be given of day-labourers becoming cultivators and owning lands*; in fact, this is the ambition of the cooly, and many of their number realize their aim. A labourer who has been prosperous generally begins by building one or two additional huts till he reaches the conventional four *ghors* in his baree. He then cultivates the little patch which he holds as *libita jumma*, hiring himself out to till other fields when sowing is going on, and doing a little in the way of *ghuramies'* work when no cultivation is going on. If he still is prosperous, he takes a small *jumma*, and

gradually drops the daily labour, rising from being a muzdoor to be a grihast (and there can be little doubt that these are the men who in time will be the *bhodro lok*).

"40. I can point to two instances of classes of daily labourers who have thus raised themselves to the rank of cultivators, *viz.*, the Boona coolies attached to factories, and the ryots of holdings in the Soonderbunds.

"41. When the indigo factories which employed the Boona coolies were shut up, some of these Boonas went off to other districts, some still continued their occupation as labourers, but many of them have stuck to the vicinity of the factories, and have taken lands, and now are as independent cultivators as most of the Jessore ryots—and very good cultivators they make. They are orderly, quiet, and hard-working. A good deal of their tillage work is done by fits and starts, as is their nature; but when they don't work themselves, their women are available for work, and they can work as well as the men.

"42. The men who went down to the Soonderbunds to cut wood and clear jungle, getting 4 and 5 Rupees a month, are now all cultivators in the plots which they have cleared for holders of grants, very well off, and on the whole industrious.

"43. I cannot say that the labouring class have profited by the increase of their profits to accumulate money *so long as they remain as labourers, simply because no labourer who has accumulated any money remains a labourer*, but promotes himself *suo motu* into the agricultural class. But even while a labourer, he feeds better, he builds himself a better hut or house, he gives his wife and children ornaments, he is more irregular in his time of labour, he takes more holidays; all show signs of no inconsiderable prosperity in his condition as a labouring man.

"44. The upper classes regard the advancement of these *chota lok* with peculiar jealousy, *and there can be no doubt, I think, that the labour question in districts near the rail and Calcutta will soon assume serious proportions*. It is impossible to suggest any plan, so far as I see, by which the difficulty can be met. The demand should create a supply, and the increased prosperity of the agricultural classes will enable them to meet the difficulty well. As for the *bhodro lok*, who consider themselves created simply to read, write, and do little or nothing to earn their livelihood, they must give up their apathy and take to other means and trades to enrich themselves to meet the demands on their pockets, otherwise they will find the success-

ful cooly beat them in the race, as ought indeed to be the case.'

Mr. Monro after all does not seem very hopeful of the evil working out its own cure. He says the demand *ought* to create a supply, but does not seem very confident that it will do so. The succeeding reports show conclusively that it is not necessary for a district to be near the rail or near Calcutta to involve it in the cooly difficulty.

The Commissioner of Dacca, Mr. Simson, writes :—

" I have the honor to inform you that I have collected the opinions of my district officers relative to the subjects referred to in your letter No. 178 of the 10th of January. *There is a complete unanimity in the returns*, and my opinion is in full accord with that of the district officers. I will first answer the questions, and then detail the reasons for the changes noticed.

" 2. The rise in price of coolies and bearers in this division *has been far beyond proportion to the general enhancement of prices and value of agricultural labour.*

" 3. The difficulty of procuring carriage is less than formerly; *that of procuring coolies much greater.*

" 4. I must first state that it was always difficult to procure palkee-bearers all over the division; *it is now almost impossible*; in fact, palkee travelling, except among the Police, is almost now unknown. Women are carried about in doolies, and always will be; the dooly service is quite distinct and separate from that known as palkee travelling. In this division travelling is, with the exception of steam services, carried on by boats, and the disappearance of palkee-bearers is not of serious importance.

" 5. But if by coolies is understood persons who perform all kinds of labour and carry goods from place to place, and work for landholders, either as cultivators of land by the piece or by the hour, or as persons to perform casual agricultural services, for instance beating indigo vats, picking tea leaves, removing hemp fibre, cutting thatching grass, building cutcha houses, digging tanks, making bricks; if the word coolies is to be understood as referring to persons who perform work like the above, *then indeed prices have greatly increased, the price offered has not brought the required supply of labourers, and it will not, and not even if it should be raised ten times.*" (We hope Mr. Chapman and Mr. Monro will read this and profit by it.)

"6. The people of these districts *will only labour at unpleasant work for others when very poor indeed*. As soon as they pass the stage of poverty, and can find any work for themselves of which they may themselves receive the profits, they will work no more for others, they will undertake no work for contract or hire.

"The status of those persons who used to work as coolies has altered; the poorest classes are much better off; the men who used to be eager for daily work of any kind now decline to do anything of this sort; they have their own little area under cultivation, and most of the families possess the luxury of a gun.

"8. The reasons are that the influx of European capital into Bengal and the opening out of the country by railways and steamers have enabled cultivators to dispose of agricultural produce at distant marts and at prices very greatly above former rates.

"9. The price of labour has been greatly raised by the Railway, which employs any number, not only of men, but of women and boys. These persons receive pay according to the work they do. A man with several able-bodied wives, who can work them well, soon saves money, and *can obtain a piece of land and become independent*.

"10. When the famine raged in Orissa, crops in this division were splendid; to increased returns of produce highly raised prices gave the cultivators of the land most unexpected profits.

"11. Act X. of 1859 has protected the tenants from the landholders, and bettered the condition of the ryots. Persons who were coolies were also ryots to a small extent; they are no longer coolies; such persons now are not obliged by poverty to labour for others; they can support themselves from the lands they till.

"12. No amount of wages will induce these men now to beat indigo vats or cultivate tea gardens; *both indigo making and tea gardening must be supported by imported labour, or they will disappear, even in the face of a redundant population with any amount of spare time on its hands*.

"13. Carriage has increased; carts, carriages, and boats, have multiplied; ponies are very much more used, but the owners work for themselves; the price of hire has increased, and the more work an owner can get for his *ticca gharry* or for his bullock-cart, the better. He does not usually hire by the month, but takes advantage of every opportunity, and tries to obtain as many jobs in the day as he can.



"14. As far as travellers are concerned in this division, they require little else except boats and boatmen ; these are procurable at any rate in as great numbers as before, and all that is required is good payment.

"15. With reference to coolies for land carriage, where carts are not procurable, and where neither roads nor carts exist, *the difficulty cannot be exaggerated ; labour cannot be obtained except by compulsion.* Mr. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, thinks that when colonies of villagers are established for the clearance of the forest tracts, the supply of coolies at reasonable rates should be made a condition of settlement. *The idea is quite practicable, and would of course answer ; but I fear the Government will regard the proposal as at variance with the principles of Political Economy, and as an interference with the liberty of the subject.*

"16. *Formerly Sylhet, which was regarded as a very poor district, used to supply large bodies of labourers at reasonable rates ; they are unprocurable now.* Sylhet is no longer poverty-stricken. The bodies of men who used to work at indigo and at rice-cutting in Dacca and Mymensing at Rupees 2 per mensem and their food, are not procurable : offers of Rupees 6 per month failed to attract them in 1867.

"17. I am not justified in looking at this state of things as an evil. It shows that the general prosperity of the poor of the country has increased ; the fact that this prosperity is accompanied with difficulty and expense to Europeans seeking to make their fortunes out of this country is not to be regarded as paramount to the general advantage. The natives of this country have nothing to complain of."

Sylhet, at any rate, is far enough from the Railway. But let us now come to the last report we have to consider, that of the Commissioner of Chittagong. He does not enter much into causes, but in his appreciation of the impending difficulty he shows more discernment than any other Commissioner. We wish our space permitted us to give his report in full, but it is lengthy, and we must confine ourselves to extracts. Lord Ulick Browne writes :—

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Government orders No. 178, dated the 10th January last, calling for a report on the possibility of remedying the evils occasioned by the annually increasing difficulty in obtaining a supply of coolies, palkee-bearers, and carriage generally, and by the great increase in the rates of hire demanded, if such evils exist in this division.

" 2. With regard to the first point, there is *no doubt that the rise in the price of bearers, coolies, &c., is out of all proportion* to the general enhancement of prices and to the value of agricultural labour in this division. On this point Mr. Irvin observes that the rates for coolies have increased in Tipperah about 80 per cent. in the last ten years, while the price of rice has not increased more than 30 per cent., and he remarks that the *value* of agricultural labour must vary with the price of the great staple rice. Mr. Whinfield gives the prices of rice and the rates of wages for road coolies in Noacolly during the last ten years, from which I see that between 1859 and 1863 the price of rice per maund fell from Rupees 2-8 to annas 15-6, while the monthly wages of coolies rose one Rupee. Moreover, the actual rise in wages took place in a year in which the price of rice fell 8 annas a maund. Further on, I find that a rise of 9 annas a maund in 1865 was accompanied by a rise in wages of Rupees 1-8, *viz.*, from Rupees 6 to Rupees 7-8. The year 1866 was exceptional owing to the famine in the west, but a fall of Rupees 1-6-6 a maund in the price of rice in 1867 had no effect on coolies' wages, though a further fall of Rupees 1-4-6 in the present year has been followed by a return of wages to Rupees 6.

" 3. Nor is there any doubt as to the difficulty in procuring carriage, coolies, and palkee-bearers, *being much greater than formerly, even at an increased cost.* \* \* \* \*

" 5. Coolies are extremely difficult to procure anywhere, and the prices charged are very high. At Chittagong there is less difficulty (though it is considerable there also), and the rates are less than in the other two districts. In Tipperah and Noacolly, the rates are from annas 4-9 to annas 5-4 a day for occasional hiring, but rarely less than 5 annas, and coolies generally refuse to engage by the month. *Municipal and magisterial conservancy and road operations are often at a complete stand-still for want of coolies,* and at my recommendation the question of importation from Chota Nagpore is under consideration at Commillah, where the charge for a cooly to go thirty-two miles to Daoodkandy is Rupees 2-8.

" 6. With regard to the third point, the causes are these: the demand for labour in Arracan, where an insignificant salt tax, a very low land tax, and a very fertile rice country, enable the natives (if the statements current in Chittagong are correct) to afford to lie down all day and pay Chittagong labourers to do

their work, draws away a good deal of labour from Chittagong, and enhances the cost of what is left.

" 7. But the general prosperity of the lower classes in this division, owing to the heavy rice crops, moderate land assessment, an economical way of living, is one of the causes, and a very satisfactory one, if no other existed. *When a man finds he has nearly all he wants by working a little at his field* (and the number of coolies who live solely by hiring out their labor is, except at Chittagong port, very trifling), *he does not care to labour for hire*, and only consents to do so on receiving high wages.

" 8. The chief cause of all, however, is that the labouring classes and their zemindars also have latterly got to thoroughly understand that under the policy of Government in all these matters, they can name their own price, and that the authorities will give it whatever it is, as the journey or work must be done; and similarly that the authorities will not interfere on behalf of the public, however exorbitant a charge may be. With this knowledge, and not being in a state of poverty, there is a clever system of combination which makes the bearers, carters, and coolies, masters of the situation. But this not all; nor are the working classes alone interested in the matter. The zemindars and gomashthahs receive a large portion of the earnings of their tenants. In the case of gomashthahs, &c., the payment is a direct one in cash. In the case of the zemindar, it is more often indirect, *i. e.*, the bearer or cooly gives increased cesses in consideration of the zemindar helping him in making such charges; but I am informed that, not unfrequently, the zemindars get a portion of the earnings in cash. It is a well known fact that the zemindars about Commillah and on the road to Daoodkandy have fixed the charge for a cooly between those places at Rupees 2-8, though 12 annas would be high payment.

" 9. The inconvenience and other evils resulting from this state of affairs is certainly such as to call for remedy. Government officers find extreme difficulty in getting carriage to enable them to travel about their districts. Though the style and manner of travelling is quite different to what it used to be, and very few officers now travel with any attempt at such moderate comfort as would render travelling anything less than disagreeable, the difficulties in getting carts and the expense are so great that the main object is to find reasonable excuses for travelling as little as possible; and when they cannot be found, the next object is to camp at particular places for a long

time, which will save both inconvenience and expense. About three months ago, a Deputy Collector, who thought his travelling was over till next season, asked me not to send him out in a particular duty in which he had acquired special experience, unless it was absolutely necessary, because he could not afford to spend more than his travelling allowance, and no "roughing it" would enable him to travel on that. And this statement has been repeatedly confirmed by other officers. Moreover, there is no knowing where it will end. There is no reason, as there would be in European countries, why even the existing exorbitant prices should not be doubled at any moment.

"10. Respectable persons who must themselves travel in a palkee, with luggage, &c., on carts, complain very much at the way they are fleeced.

"11. The Government policy is not appreciated by any class; the general public simply regard the absolute power in these matters (for the principle of competition never comes into play) vested in the labouring classes as an instance of our weakness and bad government. And the classes who profit have as little respect for it as those who suffer by it.

"12. With regard to the fourth point, my reply must entirely depend on the meaning of the words "sound principles." If they mean that the principles of free trade, as applied to bearers, carts, and coolies, are to remain in as full force as in England, then there is no remedy. The lower classes of natives hate organisation rather more than the upper and middle classes hate it; but perhaps the foregoing paragraphs may, on the face of them, show the impossibility of any organization, or anything like a "service" being established in this division under the present system.

"13. I trust, however, that the words "sound principles" do not necessarily, and under all circumstances, involve the conditions adverted to in the last paragraph, and that I may be permitted to question the soundness of applying such conditions and principles to the people of all countries alike, regardless of differences in religion, customs, habits, and circumstances.

"14. If the principle of free trade were fully applicable to this country even in matters coming most strictly under the term, *viz.*, in the trade of the staple of rice, then under the facilities afforded by Government in the way of advertising prices, &c., and the special attention drawn to the subject, it would have answered in the case of the Orissa famine, where-

as the death of more than 5,00,000 persons from famine is a terrible refutation of the theory so persistently adhered to. And if the principle cannot be absolutely depended on under such favourable circumstances, it can scarcely be expected to answer when applied in other directions. In England, if a set of carpenters agreed to charge £1 a day for their labour, a sufficient number of other persons who had previously practised any other business would become carpenters, and that would rectify matters in a very short time. In this country, if a man is not by birth a palkee-bearer, nothing will induce him to carry a palkee : and the same with every other trade, occupation, or service in India. The very basis of free trade principles is wanting in this country." \* \* \*

It is a striking fact that in the four divisions last referred to, while every Commissioner testifies to the increasing price of cooly labour and increasing difficulty in procuring it, they nearly all assign different causes to account for it. The last three Commissioners and the Magistrate of Jessore all agree in naming the attractions of agriculture as one of the principal causes, and in this they are unquestionably right, but for the rest we think they are led into partial or total error from local circumstances. The Commissioner of Burdwan lays the whole difficulty at the door of the Railway, the Howrah Docking Company, and emigration. This, as we have shown, is absurd. The Railway, as we have already said, has, no doubt, to pay a high price for its coolies, and the demand it makes must draw away the supply somewhat from other districts ; but we think the Railway fully makes up for this by the tendency which it has to foster the cooly class and keep them to cooly labour, whereas, had they remained and laboured in their districts, they would probable ere now have made use of their savings to turn agriculturists. If Patna and Bhaugulpore, through which the Railway passes, have felt the scarcity but little, and Dacca and Chittagong, where there is no Railway, feel it most severely of all, it seems to prove conclusively that the Railway has little, if anything, to do with it.

We cannot but think that the complete manner in which the causes which we have assigned correspond with the facts given by the Commissioners is sufficient to carry conviction to the minds of our readers that they afford the true explanation of the scarcity. A cooly's employment is looked on as the least honourable of all ; the work he has to do, on the contrary, is comparatively more severe than that of the agriculturist. Hence,

as soon as the system of free competition obtains a full entry into the community, the labouring classes are able to raise their prices to earn increased profits, and to improve their position, as Mr. Monro testifies, and pass over into the agricultural class. But there are no corresponding accessions to the labouring class; diluvion is taking place without any counterbalancing alluvion; the habits and customs of the people are strongly opposed to any one who is above a labourer descending to work as one. They will suffer anything short of starvation rather than do so. Their inclination, their honour, their effeminate habits, are all opposed to it.

The all-important question, therefore, to be decided is, as we have already said, whether this labour difficulty will, if left alone, rectify itself or not. The Commissioner of Burdwan thinks it will; the Commissioner of the Presidency seems confident that it will do so. He relies entirely on the operations of the ordinary laws of supply and demand, just as men did in regard to the Orissa famine, till a million of souls had fallen a sacrifice to their confidence. That miserable event will indeed have done us one service if it teaches the Government to discredit for the next quarter of a century the advice of those who misapply the laws of Political Economy. We say designedly 'misapply,' for we have the greatest confidence in those laws and in their perfect soundness, when the antecedent conditions are not misunderstood: it is precisely because the conditions were misunderstood in regard to Orissa, and are misunderstood also, we fear, in regard to the labour question, that we feel so anxious about the result. Far from shrinking from Political Economy, it is by appealing to its laws no less than to the experience of other countries that we hope to show that the scarcity and high prices will *not* tend to remedy themselves, but will go on increasing till they almost annihilate the supply.

It is an obvious truism that if there is a kind of occupation which is looked upon as unpleasant and degrading, men can only be induced to betake themselves to it from (1) necessity or (2) the attractions of high remuneration. Now, as we before contended, the main difficulty in Bengal—in fact, we believe in most tropical countries—is that though cooly labour is a *sine quâ non* for the material prosperity of the community, it is *not* a necessity for the personal well-being, still less existence, of any individual. Life is shorter than in temperate countries, the soil in general more fertile, and the necessities of existence are more limited to what the soil produces without other than agricultural labour.

The construction of roads, the building of pukka and even cutcha houses for the better classes, carrying palkees, pulling punkahs, making drains and khals, digging large tanks, are not necessities to the individual who is called upon to do them, however important they may be to the person who wishes to have them done for him. There are many countries, and we believe Bengal is one of them, where the mere produce of the soil is ordinarily sufficient for the support of the entire population, that is, where it feeds and clothes them, and produces a sufficient surplus to enable them to procure from without whatever else (and it is little enough) their wants extend to. In such a country it is clear that the population can exist and even thrive in the sense in which the Commissioner of Dacca in his last paragraph speaks of them as prosperous, and as having nothing to complain of, and as they thrive in Assam, without any cooly labour to speak of, or any of the results of it, in the shape of roads, railroads, irrigation, or other works, well built cities, embankments, or reservoirs. A few tanks with water just good enough not to poison the drinker is the only kind of work which can be regarded as an absolute necessity. And even this is *individually* so remote a necessity, that, as may be witnessed in many villages in Bengal, people will drink churned up mud and vegetable refuse for a long time before they will of their accord labour at constructing or cleaning out a tank.

It seems obvious, then, that the necessity for labour other than agricultural will not operate to prevent Bengal from passing into the state of Assam and from continuing to go on from bad to worse as regards material progress. Are the Government and its officials justified, then, in thinking that the attraction of high remuneration will be effectual in working a cure, and that, as Mr. Monro hopes, the demand will create a supply? We think a little care will show that this is even a more broken reed to rely upon than that of necessity.

If the demand was unlimited, there is no doubt that it would be certain to create a supply at last. We do not doubt that a gang of Brahmin coolies, who had passed the Entrance Examination, could be got together by offering them each Rupees 1,000 a month for their labour; but the problem is, first leaving Government out of the question, will the individual members of society be prepared to offer the terms which will be asked, *or will they rather forego the object for which the labour is wanted, than pay the requisite price, and thus live in a state of uncivilised and unaspiring ease as in Assam?*

Now, this depends precisely on the extent to which the price of labour must rise before it will operate as a sufficient inducement. This again is a question which we are convinced must be answered as the Commissioner of Dacca answers it. The old cooly class will continue to work at a rate which, if high, will not be preposterous, but by doing so they will nearly all in another generation have risen to easier circumstances, and the price will thenceforth have to be such as *will attract men who have hitherto shunned cooly labour to take to it.*

Mr. Simson says of his division :—"The price offered has *not* brought the required supply of labourers, and it will not, and not even if it should be raised ten times. The people of these districts will only labour at unpleasant work *for others* when very poor indeed. As soon as they pass the stage of poverty, and can find any work for themselves of which they may themselves receive the profits, they will work no more for others, they will undertake ~~no~~ work for contract or hire."

We are confident that every one, who has had the experience of endeavouring to induce any Bengallee who is above labour, as he thinks, to undertake labour, will unhesitatingly confirm what Mr. Simson says. If, as seem likely, the cooly class in many parts of Bengal is entirely absorbed in another generation, there is nothing to prevent the price of labour increasing in another twenty years to 20 or even 30 Rupees a month. Preposterous as this may now seem, the prices now charged would have appeared almost equally preposterous twenty years ago. With such prices it is evident that private enterprise must be annihilated; only works necessary to existence will be undertaken; conservancy will be hopeless; all but the most thronged roads and communications will go to ruin; and water deteriorate more and more.

Government, it is true, will be able to obtain labour if it chooses to pay for it; but it is self-evident that Government, with its already too stationary revenue and already too expensive Public Works Department, will be compelled to draw in its horns also, and follow the example of private persons in abandoning the majority of its works. To say that the life of Europeans in India will be a burden to them, that a transfer of an officer will be equivalent to an exorbitant fine, is only to point out some of the most trivial of the misfortunes, not worth mentioning, compared with the general decline of the community.

We appeal, then, confidently to our readers whether there is any good ground for supposing that the scarcity and high price



of labour will, if left alone, remedy themselves. Have they done so in Assam? Have they done so in the Mauritius or the many countries in the West Indies, the Governments of which find it necessary to organise an expensive department of the State in order to introduce coolies from India to provide the requisite supply of labour? Even in Bengal itself, are there any indications of a re-action, or is it a fact that though the prices of labour have risen enormously, the class above that of the labouring class has shown no inclination to resort to labour? And if the scarcity goes on increasing—we might say in regard to some parts of Bengal, continues unremedied—what will be the result? Those who have been in Assam know how to answer this question. All the minor roads will one after the other have to be abandoned owing to the expense of keeping them up; intercommunication except by boat will be at an end. Tauks will go on getting worse and worse; and every one shrink from the expense of re-digging them; uncultivated lands, orchards, and topes, will be more and more covered with injurious under-growth, owing to the expense of employing labour to root it out; pukka houses will fall more and more into ruins; drainage be neglected; sanitation be checked, owing to the prohibitory price requisite to carry out sanitary measures: and yet with all this the cost of keeping up the police, peons, guards, &c., will be constantly increasing, and the tendency of the expenditure to outrun the revenue be more marked than ever. European enterprise and capital will be driven out of the mofussil in consequence of the price of hired labourer; the expense of surveys will be doubled; and Government will be told, as it recently was in Assam, that an order to erect masonry pillars to mark boundaries, was impracticable, since the erection of such pillars in such a place would cost a fortune.

If this is the state to which the Government wishes to reduce Bengal, by all means let it follow Mr. Chapman's advice, and leave matters to themselves; and indeed one may well ask whether in what we have just sketched we have not been delineating that which is going on before our very eyes, rather than indulging in a prophetic picture. The evil is growing slowly no doubt, but not imperceptibly; it is only too true that already the state of things in Lower Bengal is becoming so bad as to cause serious anxiety. On all sides, and from the most independent sources, one hears evidence that the state of the country is unquestionably deteriorating. We do not pretend to say that the scarcity of labour is the cause, but we believe it is one of the causes at work, and

by no means the least efficacious. From every quarter in the very districts where labour is expensive we hear of the deterioration of the tanks, and that new ones are not being constructed as hitherto. The jungle is visibly growing upon the inhabitants, and all persons unite in saying that village conservancy is worse than formerly. All the smaller khalls and water-ways are notoriously silting up, and palkee travelling becoming an impossibility, as we saw from the reports in many places where there are no roads or railroads to replace it. Almost everywhere also in the interior pukka houses are falling into decay; even the European houses at the Sudder Stations are getting into the same state, and no new ones are being built. Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee well described the other day the contrast between the road-making and material progress which he witnessed up-country, as compared with the stagnation in Bengal, where we find that many old roads have been abandoned. New roads, it is true, are being constructed in many places, but the cost of them is enormous, and the Local Roads' Fund hopelessly and avowedly insolvent, and compelled to stop all progress. A road cess is now pronounced to be the only possible means of extrication.

Precisely the same may be said about embankments, which are getting out of repairs over the whole country, while the zemindars shirk the performance of their duty, terrified at the enormous cost which it will involve. European capital, too, is compelled slowly to abandon the contest. As we have already said, we do not pretend to treat the scarcity of labour as the only cause of all the misfortunes we have enumerated, and in many cases over speculation, no doubt, has ruined the European capitalist, but the high prices of hired labour have unquestionably contributed to his difficulties, and frequently been the inducement to have recourse to the illegal pressure which has brought him into contact with the local officials. Certain it is that almost all European capital is being driven out of Bengal. Indigo has gone, tea-planting has suffered a rude shock, and one speculation after another gets into difficulties.

What then, in conclusion, are the remedies we would propose? This is no doubt a most important question, but we believe that the task we have undertaken would be complete even if we did not attempt to enter upon this question. The important point is to draw attention to the intensity of the evil first. When this is duly admitted and realised, the Government and the public will be prepared to accept remedies which would otherwise be scornfully rejected. We will not, however, shrink from indicating

generally what we consider are the remedies that are required, which consist of an alternative choice between that suggested by the Commissioner of Chittagong and that by the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar.

As we have just said, the cooly difficulty may be regarded as trivial and unimportant,—an inconvenience to Europeans and officials, which will cure itself if left alone,—but nothing serious or vital : or it may be regarded as a most important and dangerous evil which threatens to paralyze all useful works in the districts to which it extends or may extend hereafter ; to stop almost all public works by the prohibitive cost which the execution of them will involve ; and, in one word, to convert Lower Bengal into Assam. We are confident that we have failed utterly in dealing with the question, unless we have succeeded in showing that the latter is the true view, that the labour question in India is far more vital to the interests of the country than the educational, and that it lies at the root of economy in public works, roads, and communications, and, to a great extent, sanitation. If the former view is adopted, it is useless looking for any preventive or remedial measures, since nothing, such as the case requires, would be listened to. If, however, it be admitted that the present system is radically unsound, and requires the intervention of Government to remedy it as far as possible, then, as Lord Ulick Browne contends, the view of what constitute 'sound principles' will be entirely altered, and there may be some hope of success.

What is wanted is the active intervention of Government as it has intervened in the question of education and in the provision of medicines and dispensaries. This intervention might, we believe, be successfully exercised in two ways :—(1)<sup>a</sup> by compulsion and (2) by influence and agreement.

The principle underlying the former is that the public should tax the individuals forming the community in labour, and not only in money, as is now done exclusively. We can see nothing in the eternal essence of things, which makes it less justifiable for the community to require certain classes to give to the public a share of their labour than as it now does a share of their income. As Lord Ulick Browne argues very cogently in a passage of his report which has been omitted, there is nothing radically unjust or unfair, nor is it unprecedented in civilized countries, to require forced labour. Speaking of this objection, he says :—

"I know that there is one objection to be surmounted, *viz.*, "that in this case even, though rates be fixed, it will be forced labour. To this I reply that, as regards all three,—bearers, carts, and coolies,—labour is forced already when required for troops, and that when nations as civilized as ourselves annually force many thousands of their countrymen to labour as soldiers (and run the risk of losing their lives at times) against their will for years for the public good, it seems worthy of consideration whether too much stress has not been laid on the asserted hardship of compelling a man to work at his own business for three or four days in the year at fair wages, whether he wishes to work for that particular employer or not, when his doing so will be of considerable public benefit."

We may add that, both in England and here we already force persons to act as jurymen, whether they like it or not.

But, as Mr. Monro indicates in his letter, it is quite in accordance with the habits and customs of this country to tax persons in this manner. Even in Bengal it is considered less degrading to be called upon by the Police or a public officer to perform some task requiring labour than it is to do the same work for a private individual. In Assam the distinction is very marked. We have not referred to the Assam report, but one of the Deputy Commissioners, Major Sherer, of Kamroop, explains so well the different estimates held of labour required by competent authority and voluntary labour for hire, that we cannot do better than extract the passage :—

"I think I may safely say that 'purely' voluntary local labour is not to be obtained in Kamroop. I am perfectly sure that a European traveller wanting to proceed from this to the 'Cossyah Hills' or 'Upper Assam' could not quit this station and secure the necessary carriage for himself and baggage in the shape of 'local labour,' without the aid of the presiding civil authority. I will even go further than this, and state that even I myself, when proceeding on 'public duty' into the mofussil, am unable to secure voluntary 'local labour' for the carriage of Government records or my own private personal effects that I am compelled to take about with me.

"I am given to understand by old and respectable native Assamese residents, that in the olden days, under the old 'Ahom' dynasty, such a thing as 'voluntary' labour was unknown. This may appear strange when we have so many great and lasting relics of the old dynasty in the shape of enormous 'tanks,' 'bunds,' 'embankments,' and pieces of archi-

*texture that bear testimony to the vigour and energy of those who had the carrying out of such stupendous works, on which such an enormous amount of local labour must have been expended, but I believe the information tendered to be substantially correct.*

*"The native agricultural population would not work voluntarily under their 'Ahom rulers,' but they would cheerfully obey any order from the 'paramount' power, 'directing them to place their services for a time, as occasion demanded,' at the services of that ruler to whom they owed their allegiance, and I believe myself that the same idea holds good to the present day among the native labouring community under the 'present regime.'"*

"I might go into the bazar and offer a rupee to a cooly to carry a reasonable load one day's journey from this to (say) Burneehaut, and I am perfectly sure no local cooly would step forward voluntarily to do the job.

"In fact, I may as well at once state that whether for 'public' or 'private purposes,' voluntary labour is not procurable except under special circumstances, as in the case of road contractors and the tea planting community, who manage to secure a certain amount of temporary local labour, but only by making large advances beforehand. But neither Government nor private individuals can procure local coolies voluntarily for the mere carriage of stores or private effects. The aid of the district officer is a necessity when coolies are required either for Government or for private individuals in cases of emergency; coolies are readily procurable on the Deputy Commissioner's issuing a perwannah directing a mouzadar to procure and send in so many men according to the size and population of his mouzah. In all such cases it is self-evident that a certain amount of compulsion and impressment are employed: but the coolies understand this, and do not object to it, as they are aware the order for their temporary services emanates from competent authority."

The following extract from Mill's celebrated Assam report shows that Major Skerer is perfectly right in what he states of the ancient system:—

"7. The population was divided into *khells*, numbering from 1,000 to 5,000 able-bodied men of one caste or calling under superior officers called *borahs*. A *borah* possessed authority over twenty *ghots* of paicks, each *ghot* consisting of three paicks; a *sykeah* over 100 *ghots*, and a *hazaree* over

1,000 *ghots*. The whole were placed under an officer of State, either a *phookan* or a *burooah*.

" 8. One paick from every *ghot* was bound to labour for the king or the officers of State, to whom his services were devoted in his particular calling throughout the year. Such as were not field-labourers paid in coin, or had to give so much cloth, gold, or other articles which they were employed to produce. The hill-men compounded for service by small payments of cotton. *The Kacharies were bound to serve as palkee-bearers or coolies.*

\* \* \* \* \*

" 14. The revenue system introduced by the British was but a modification of that which previously existed. The custom of accepting *personal labor*, products, and presents, was abolished, and the whole of the revenue was taken in cash."

Of course, we would not advocate the promiscuous forcing of labourers; but if the principle were adopted, an equitable system could easily be devised, by which villages or estates could be assessed at so much labour, and bound to provide workmen when called upon by Government at a stated price, variable according to the price of rice,—a power which Government would exercise both for its own public works as well as for useful private works in undertakings of which it approved. If the price were fixed at equivalent to that which an agriculturist would ordinarily earn in his own field, the duty would not become very unpopular, and the arrangement would have the effect of necessarily keeping up and maintaining a labouring class.

We believe, however, that if Government would exert its influence, a similar result might be obtained by contract only, in the manner indicated by Mr. Edgar as stated in para. 15 of the report of the Commissioner of Dacca. This would be especially practicable on waste lands or Government estates. To the former the Commissioners might, in correspondence with the Commissioners of Chota Nagpore or Behar, induce bodies of coolies to migrate, and then settle them on these lands at advantageous terms, on the express condition that they should always be ready to furnish Government with a certain number of coolies or bearers calculated at a percentage on their strength, at a reasonable rate variable from time to time as before: refusal would make them liable to ejectment. In Government estates, too, the Collectors might use their influence to foster the supply of the cooly class by granting leases on advantageous terms to all those who would

undertake either to give their personal service, or in the case of a village or number of ryots united together, to furnish a certain definite quantity of labour. Zemindars might be invited to follow the same system, and we believe that many of them are so sensible of the evils resulting from the present scarcity of coolies, that they would easily be induced to co-operate, and would support Government in this case more readily than they do in fostering education and erecting schools. It might be pointed out that the annihilation of the cooly class is a serious evil, and that though no one's liberty would be interfered with, encouragement would be given to all those who are willing to work for hire at those seasons and times of the year when they are not working on their land. Among the inferior classes men of influence might be encouraged to enrol themselves as sirdars, ready to procure coolies for Government at certain fixed rates when required, on condition of receiving a certain commission on the number engaged.

But, as we have said, details cannot be expected from us. We have accomplished our object if we have succeeded in persuading our readers generally that the existing scarcity of labour is ruining Lower Bengal, and will ruin it so far as the introduction of capital and material progress are concerned, still more as time goes on; and that the causes at work are such as offer no reasonable prospect of working out their own remedy, but will continue year by year to intensify as the profits of the remaining coolies increase, and their absorption into the class above them is completed. We also maintain most resolutely that no sound principle is violated even if Government institutes a sort of labour conscription in Bengal; in fact, that the violation would be more equitable and more justifiable than that which now takes place whenever troops have to be moved from one place to another and the first cart and first man that can be seized are impressed for the task.

If, however, the pluck (for so we regard it) of Government is unequal to the demand which this would make upon it, we still maintain that the most legitimate and unimpeachable exercise of influence will be sufficient to stem the evil in a great measure, and that the landlords and, as one of them, Government can best meet the difficulty by only letting land to those who will not be above labour. Many ryots will even still do work for their zemindars which they will do for no one else.

If, however, the advocates of the *laissez faire* principle are still allowed to carry the day; if misapplied political economy

is again to be permitted to regulate the action of Government, then we mournfully anticipate that the picture of Bengal will be more and more humiliating. We do not for a moment imagine that there will be danger of want or starvation; on the contrary, a famine would perhaps stave off the other evil for years, by forcing large classes to take to labour in order to reserve life. There will be ease and plenty, so far as ease is compatible with unwholesome water, endemic fever, and encroaching vegetation: but all attempts to develop the resources of the country, to check its growing insanitation, to inspire physical energy into its population, will be at an end. Assam was, as Major Sherer tells us, once at least as energetic a country as Bengal; its works, its tanks, its embankments at least as numerous; and the ruin which has overtaken them will slowly but surely overtake the works in Bengal.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

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### INDIAN ANNALS OF MEDICAL SCIENCE.—No. 24.

WE have received the 24th Number of the "Indian Annals of Medical Science," published in July. The issue is, as usual, replete with matter of technical value and interest, and contains also much that is attractive to the general reader. It opens with an address by Dr. Fayrer to the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association, in which the author states his views on the vexed question of accommodation in our principal metropolitan hospital. The number of patients received in the wards of the Medical College Hospital has, as is now generally known, undergone recent reduction, with the object of providing increased space for individuals; and it is alleged by the College authorities that the results of the measure have been satisfactory. Outside opinion, however, has taken a different direction. The scarcity of hospital accommodation in Calcutta, although we think it has been a little exaggerated, has been advanced against the justness of the change. It is argued that the results of restricting the admission of sick cannot be measured by any favorable change within the wards, but must include the fate of those turned from the doors under the new system; that to justify such a procedure, facts of the most conclusive nature will alone suffice in a hospital, which, notwithstanding its educational purposes, came into existence for the benefit of the sick poor of Calcutta; and that the facts adduced by the officers of the hospital, so far from having this character, prove, if they prove anything at all, that the growing mortality of native patients is due to causes independent of the hospital altogether, since, years ago, when the city was differently circumstanced, the hospital of the day, with its cruder science, primitive construction, and larger number of inmates, showed mortuary figures very small in comparison with those now presented. Moreover, it is observed that in one large and important part of the institution, no reduction of numbers has taken place, but the improvement in mortality is as marked here, during the period selected for comparison, as elsewhere. We are forced to think that the College authorities have taken too narrow a view of their

position with regard to the sick of the metropolis, and also that facts, as far as they have yet been developed, are strongly against them. Dr. Fayrer's views, as those of one concerned in bringing about the alteration, are naturally in its favour. The remainder of the address is devoted to matters purely professional.

Dr. Bird follows with an entertaining essay on "Idiosyncrasy." The term, as employed by the author, has a very wide range of meaning ; for, in the course of the article, it is made by implication to embrace the distinguishing features of almost all distinguishable things. He sets out with an assumption that peculiarities of individual constitution are solely due to the influence of external agents, by first asserting that in all our organs and tissues, normal structure, quality, and function, are so determined, both as to origin and subsequent development. "Each tissue," he says, "appears to be moved by certain agents, and by other agents not to be moved at all. \* \* \* \* When it happens that these elements, which only have the power to move a certain tissue, are withdrawn, that tissue, for lack of exercise, begins to waste. By a reference to this principle I explain the phenomenon of a man becoming idiotic while undergoing a course of solitary confinement." This is a fair example of the uncompromising realism which has taken possession of Dr. Bird's mind. All the influence which creates and modifies the mind of man is the influence of external things. We are not allowed even to suppose that there can be original internal motion of any kind. Volition, design, directing and controlling force, even a reciprocal action of mind on matter, are not tolerated for a moment. Man is a creature of circumstances, and of nothing else ; and if one should dare to breathe the name of free-will, we tremble for his destiny at the hands of Dr. Bird. Yet his first illustration is scarcely a happy one. If idiocy, following solitary confinement, be but an example of a universal law, what is to be said of cases in which no such result is seen ; nay more, of cases where great efforts of genius have grown out of the same position ?

Strange as it may now appear in so stern a realist, Dr. Bird is a staunch adherent of deductive reasoning ; not that he makes any formal declaration of such a creed, but from beginning to end of his paper, as in the above example, he assumes his law, and applies it to his facts. External things, according to him, are the sole agents in the formation of human mind and character ; yet the mind that would arrive at sound conclusions must not exercise itself, as the mind of Bacon would do, and that

of Newton has done, in the diligent observation of facts, and inductive formation of an hypothesis to be afterwards tested by further facts, until it is proved to be law. The first assumption of a principle is seen in every argument this essay contains, and notably in an attack on the present method of investigating the causation of disease, by searching for special antecedents and calling them causes; for the author contends that diseases are due to no single cause, "but to a combination of all the influences to which we are being subjected when they manifest themselves in our tissue,"—influences which, from the context, we find to embrace the operation of all the known forces of nature. Very probable indeed; and far be it from us even to affect a sneer at the expansive minds of those who devote themselves to the study of cosmical phenomena on the largest scale, in their bearing on our well-being: but are we therefore prohibited from carefully noting and weighing the last link in the chain, the proximate fact, the only link, it may be, that is appreciable by our senses? Is it not rather true that a link so found is a step upwards to an antecedent link, and so leads us along the road to sound generalisation, from effect to cause, from facts to principles, from instances to laws, and so in the end to those combinations, if they exist, which Dr. Bird would have us assume in the outset? If, however, the doctrine of special "poisons" is so contemptible, what shall we say for our antidotes? If the miasm which brings an ague is not a single tangible agent or force, what is the nature of the quinine that counteracts it? What a rare embodiment of vast and varied forces its little crystals must present, when they overthrow at once the great febrile combinations of our author? Does Dr. Bird need to be reminded of the simple fact from which Newton evolved the machinery of the universe? or to be told that Kepler reasoned in the opposite direction, and that three special laws record the labour of his life-time?

But, philosophy apart, Dr. Bird has produced, as we have said, a very entertaining essay; and those who are diverted by the eccentricities of their kind, will do well to follow him through his examples of idiosyncrasy. They take the form of personal anecdotes, told not unfrequently with a racy humour which well befits them. We must content ourselves with a single instance:—"A. B. was a young military man of fair family and abundant fortune, and passed in the world for a man of average abilities and good morals. He seemed to care little for the society of women, and it was therefore with no little concern and astonishment that his relations discovered he had

“fallen violently in love with a woman who was twice his age, and who was so deficient in intelligence as to be considered an idiot. She also slobbered as she talked. So infatuated was this youth with this old woman, that he would sit by her for hours, purring over her, and wiping the slobbers from her chin. He recovered from his attack after two or three weeks’ suffering, and is now married in accordance with common taste and the wishes of his friends.”

“The above case,” Dr. Bird adds with more emphasis than chivalry, “is to be explained in the same way as a love of assafoetida and other stinks.”

But Dr. Bird is not always grotesque. He can be artistic on occasion. We extract the following from another portion of his paper. If the argument from analogy will not bear much criticism, the picture at least is prettily painted. The subject is *Memory*: “Many find it difficult to realise to themselves how it is possible for the experiences of a life-time to be stored up in the brain-tissues. I will try to help the faith of those men with an illustration. I take an English Bible and show it to a savage who is ignorant of the history of the civilised world, and who has never heard of printing; and I tell him that on its pages are written strange and eventful records—records of men’s lives, of the rise of nations, of wars and treaties, of the origin and establishment of religions, of the decline and fall of empires, &c. He listens and looks, but the crooked characters in which these histories are traced, excite in him fewer ideas than the surface of the barren country to which he is accustomed does. He sees so many ounces of paper covered with black tracings, but they are as blank to his mind as so many ounces of wood or stone. To the same savage I show a human brain, and in like manner I tell him that within its folded structure is written the record of an eventful life. Here is the account of our struggle for position, there the story of our loves and ambitions; within this fold lies the tale of our joys and triumphs, within that, of our sorrows and bereavements. Here are the traces of fluent and flexible childhood, here of a gushing and enthusiastic youth, here of a cold and resolute manhood, and there of a selfish old age; and see over all the intricate web, hopes and fears are scattered like the lights and shadows of a landscape. He looks and listens, but the folded tissues, as in the case of the written leaves, impress him no more than so much wood or stone does. Reasoning in this

"way, we are able to see how it is possible for 50 or 60 ounces of brain-tissue to be the sheet on which are impressed the varied experiences of a life, and how the time may come when by the assistance of apparatus we may by innumerable comparisons come to be able to read those impressions as easily as a Fiji savage can be brought in these days to read the printed Bible."

It is cruel to disfigure so fair a sketch, but we must ask Dr. Bird how often in the course of a single year, by natural process of nutrition and decay, is every cell and fibre of the brain destroyed and replaced; and if the cerebral records of eventful lives are merely as writings on tissue, how does the impress survive the ceaseless structure-change, without which there can be no life in man?

Among the remaining articles of this issue of the "Annals," we observe some "Rough Notes" by Mr. Oldham on the geological constitution of the soil on which our principal military stations are placed. The connexion between peculiarity of soil and epidemic disease is becoming an important point of enquiry under the guidance of Professor Pettenkoffer; and we do not doubt that our sanitary officers will feel indebted to Mr. Oldham for this contribution in aid of their researches. Dr. Francis's paper on Army Hospital Equipment is based on a careful study, at the Paris Exhibition, of all modern improvements. We regret that time and space do not admit of our noticing it at greater length. It will well repay the perusal of those interested in the subject.

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*A Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart., Governor of Madras in 1778-80, from the misrepresentations of Colonel Wilks, Mr. Mill, and other Historians of British India: including an examination of Mr. Hastings's relations with Sir Thomas Rumbold.* BY HIS DAUGHTER, THE LATE ELIZABETH ANNE RUMBOLD. London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868.

A STORY is told of Sir Walter Raleigh that one afternoon during the time he was engaged on his *History of the World*, he witnessed in one of the courts of the Tower a quarrel between two men, which ended in a murder. Two of his friends coming to see him immediately after, so entirely disagreed, not

only between themselves, but with him in their relation of the circumstance, that Sir Walter in a rage seized the manuscript volumes of his history and flung them into the fire, exclaiming that it was not for him to relate the history of the world if he could not relate what he had seen a quarter of an hour before. The action was an extravagant one, but it illustrates a feeling which all students have, that in spite of our theories for the analysis of ancient history, we can never be sure that we have facts and events as they actually occurred; and that even where there can be no doubt respecting the leading events themselves, we can never know that we have the truth regarding the character and motives of the actors. The temptation to generalize from imperfect data, or gather our estimates of character from prejudiced sources, has often resulted in the distortion of history, and in serious injury to men who have deserved well of their country; and although 'pictured pages,' like those of Macaulay, may have the merit of investing history with an interest that is life-like and enchanting, there is always a fear lest, owing to the individual temperament or educational bias of the historian, the pictures should prove to be rather the offspring of fancy than a reproduction of the reality.

We are convinced that the real history of India has yet to be written. We have got its leading political features, but not the true character of many of its chief actors, or the influences by which they were swayed. We are still at the mercy of historian dogmatism. Many of the events, too, are too close to our own times to be treated of dispassionately, or with the fullness which is only attainable when the actors are removed by a considerable interval from the record of their deeds. The 'Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold,' shows how Indian historians may misrepresent the men they write about, under the influence of prejudice, or one-sided statements, or inability to reach the most reliable sources of information, or all combined. Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras in 1778-80, is charged with having subordinated his entire administration to his own corrupt ends. Led away, no doubt, by the fact of certain proceedings in Parliament, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties that greeted him on his return to his native land, our writers of Indian history have unwittingly injured the memory of a man who now appears to have deserved very different treatment. Sir Thomas Rumbold is accused of having transmitted four lakhs and a half of rupees to England only six months after he had become Governor of Madras,—a sum

out of all proportion to his lawful emoluments. Shortly before his arrival at Madras, a Committee of Circuit had been appointed to complete a settlement with the zemindars of the Northern Circars. This Commission Sir Thomas is charged with having cancelled in order to secure to himself an unlawful advantage by getting the zemindars to transact business with himself alone at Madras. He is also accused of complicity with his Secretary, Mr. Redhead, in regard to a bribe of a lakh of rupees offered to the latter by Seetaram Raj, who sought to be re-instated as Dewan of his brother the zemindar of Vizagapatam, and who was accordingly re-instated, notwithstanding his brother's remonstrances. And it has been believed, and hitherto accepted as history, that the circumstances connected with the transfer of the Guntoor Circar, betrayed an underhand dealing which could only have been prompted by the same irrepressible lust that had marked his other transactions. These are the principal charges against him, and for the last eighty years his memory has been overshadowed by them.

The 'Vindication' by his daughter, who devoted the best years of her life to the collection and analysis of all the records on the subject that could possibly be procured, meets all the charges urged in Mr. Dundas's Bill, and shows, not only that they were unfounded, but that the historians of the day, and especially Mill, have simply accepted the statements of his accusers instead of basing their judgment on the results of the Parliamentary inquiry. So satisfactory is the evidence of documents, many of which have only now for the first time come to light, that Mr. Marshman, to whom Miss Rumbold took her manuscript, has, in a long appendix to the first volume of his history as published by Longmans, 1867, acknowledged that 'this chapter of Indian history requires to be written afresh.' 'The interests of historical truth,' he adds, 'demand this candid admission, and render it necessary to place before the reader the clear explanations which these documents afford, of various points on which his (Sir T.'s) conduct has been impeached.'

Miss Rumbold has shown that the money her father sent home from Madras was not all his own, a considerable portion of it having belonged to Sir Hector Munro; and that what was his had been realized in Bengal, where he had for twelve years been a Civilian and chief of the factory of Patna. It is now proved that Sir Thomas did a wise thing in

dispensing with the Committee of Circuit, who were not only sure to have been baffled by the zemindars, but whose action was already fomenting hostility to the British Government, and that the Court of Directors expressed their approval of his conduct. It is now proved that Mr. Redhead never had the confidence of Sir Thomas, and that the Counsel for the Bill of Pains and Penalties abandoned the charge of bribery on finding that it could not be sustained. It is now proved that the Dewan who had supplanted Seetaram Raj was found to have been a defaulter, and that Seetaram was re-instated after a reconciliation had been brought about between the brothers.

In some respects the most serious accusation brought against Sir Thomas was that in connection with the transfer of the Gunttoor Circar. The story is too long to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the confederacy formed by the Nizam is now shown to have existed before the transfer, and not, as has been supposed, to have been originally suggested by it. It is also clear that the hostility of the Nizam was owing to the support given by Hastings to Raghoba and the Rajah of Berar; and that the war in the Carnatic, so far from having been provoked by the Madras Government, was designed at a date anterior to the formation of the Nizam's confederacy, and may be mainly attributed to the Mahratta War. Indeed, Miss Rumbold's 'Vindication' discloses the fact that 'the first censure ever addressed by the Court of Directors to Sir Thomas Rumbold, and which was accompanied by a sentence of banishment from the service, was dated three months after they had received his formal resignation, under circumstances explained by himself, which precluded his ever seeking further employment in the climate of India'; that when 'the Directors went through the mockery of dismissing him from a service which he had already relinquished, it was ostensibly for measures carried out at Madras, with every detail of which they had been acquainted for much above a twelve-month, and at which they had testified no dissatisfaction'; that not only were all these accusations placed in a very different light, or utterly disproved at the bar of the House of Commons, but that some of the charges, made very prominent in Mr. Mill's history, had been abandoned as 'untenable articles of the Bills of Pains and Penalties, before any evidence in support of them had been attempted on the part of the accusers'; and that the Bill itself was withdrawn twenty months after it had been presented.



One other circumstance to which prominence is given in the 'Vindication,' is the conduct of Hastings, whose enmity is believed to have been excited against Sir Thomas, owing to the latter's having boldly protested against the Mahratta War, 'the war of the Directors duped by the Council of Bombay.' But on this question we cannot enter here.

Miss Rumbold's book concludes with a valuable appendix of statements and documents relating to her father's administration. The entire volume is well worth reading, and cannot but be regarded as an important contribution to authentic Indian history.

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*Indian Polity : a View of the System of Administration in India. By Major Chesney. Longmans, Green, and Co.*

THIS interesting work, especially interesting at a time when the administrative machinery of India is so much discussed, requires a fuller analysis than can be given to it in a short notice. We hope therefore to be able to present our readers in our next number with a paper on the subject which could not be prepared in time for this volume. The author's name is sufficient to ensure the sale of the work without any commendation from us.

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*Scenes from the Rāmāyana. By RALPH T. H. GRIFFITH, M. A. London : Trübner & Co. Calcutta : W. Newman & Co. Benares : E. J. Lazarus & Co., 1868.*

GOETHE says somewhere in his Autobiography, that that which is really valuable is what remains of a poet when he is translated into prose ; and it may be observed that the great German poet seldom departed from this principle. When he wished to express the spirit of Greek or Italian poetry, as in the second part of Faust, he did not translate—he imitated. It is doubtful whether, even with this method, he succeeded in transfusing the cold, self-restrained majesty of Sophocles into German. We ourselves have never met with any one who admired the *Helena*,—with few who even professed to understand it. To us there is something quite melancholy in the flood of translations of ancient authors, which at present inundates England. The only

translations that live, are those that, like Pope's, depart very widely indeed from the spirit of the original. A really faithful translation must be "caviare to the vulgar." No one can understand it who is not a perfect master of the original; and we ourselves could never see why such a person needs a translation at all. Still we fear that Horace will go on being translated till the "crack of doom." It is doubtful whether, if he had foreseen the torturing he was to undergo, he would have been willing that "so large a portion of himself should escape Libitina."

Mr. Griffith may be said to be the Pope to the Indian Homer. If the problem were capable of solution, we have no doubt that he would solve it. His verses are melodious and full of spirit, and have the true poetic ring about them whenever he gets quite clear of the original. In his first selection from the *Rāmāyana*, he attains this happy liberation. We cannot say that his polished verses express the business-like accuracy of the original. We are very glad that they do not. Invaluable as the picture of the ideal Brahminical state is in a historical point of view, it is essentially prose, and very dull prose too. Pluto would never have roused the indignation of Tertullian if his 'Republic' had been written in this style. Mr. Griffith occasionally touches upon the original, but he has too much poetical taste to attempt translation properly so called.

The next translation is not like the previous, in Macaulay's ballad-metre, but in that of Pope. But the author has given his verses a flexibility and freedom which are not to be found in Pope's well balanced distiches. In this he seems to follow Matthew Arnold in his *Tristram and Isault*. One extract will give an idea of the author's strength and of his weakness. In the complaint against Ravana, which the gods address to Brahma, we find the lines—

"From him the sun restrains his wonted glow,  
 "Nor dares the wind upon his face to blow,  
 "And ocean *necklaced with the wandering wave*,  
 "Stills the wild waters till they cease to rave.  
 "O Father! lend us thine avenging aid,  
 "And slay this fiend, *for we are sore afraid.*"

The admirable expression, "necklaced with the wandering wave," is almost a literal translation of the Sanscrit *mahōrmimalā*. "Stills the wild waters till they cease to rave," is a poetical expansion of *prahampatē*, which means "trembles." The less said about the last line, the better.

The "Alexandrian" elegance of Kálidása is more easily transfused into English, than the simplicity of the *Rámáyana*. But the insuperable difficulty of translating Hindoo poetry into our language consists in this, that the ideas of the original are often unintelligible without a considerable knowledge of Hindoo thought, often such as to any European of taste must be positively repulsive. In illustration of this we will quote from Mr. Griffith's "Birth of Ráma" two lines, where an altogether different idea is given by the translator, from that which was in the mind of Kálidása. Speaking of Dasáratha, the translator says :—

"No king he deemed with him in bliss could vie,  
• "No, nor the Father of the earth and sky."

We do not believe that so distinguished a Sanscrit scholar as Mr. Griffith could dream for a moment that these words expressed the sense of the passage. Mallinátha explains it thus : He thought himself to be revered as being the father of the Father of the universe (i. e., Vishnu, who was incarnate in his three wives). It is obvious that this idea could never have assumed a poetical coloring in English. Accordingly it has to be suppressed. On the same principle, in another passage, *moksha* is translated "bliss." The truth is that Mr. Griffith has done all that could be done, but it is difficult enough to translate Greek poems into tolerable English verse. In the case of Oriental compositions, the difficulty is increased ten-fold. We hold the gem of the whole collection to be the Suppliant Dove. We regret to say that we have not had an opportunity of comparing this with the original, to which we have no doubt that it is far superior.

One word with respect to the preface, in which there is a criticism of the *Máhabhárata* from the orthodox Hindoo stand-point. We do not wish to controvert the assertion that the general moral tone of the *Rámáyana* is lofty. It is perhaps as lofty as that of the Iliad or Odyssey, though we fail to see the perfection of Ráma's character. But we do not think that the writer has shewn much discrimination in praising the magnificent descriptions of battle scenes found in the *Rámáyana*. Let any one compare the death of Hector with that of Rávana. The latter monster having ten heads, is destroyed by means of a missile prepared expressly for the purpose, which in the air separates into ten crescent-headed arrows (similar to those with which commanders used to cut off the heads of running ostriches in the Roman amphitheatre), each of which amputates a head. The admirable

ingenuity with which the means are adapted to the end, robs the scene of all interest. Tastes differ, and the taste of India is not that of Europe. We are inclined to believe that few battle pieces in Hindoo poetry could have any interest for a European. There is nothing of the *charmé*—of the *hujus certaminis gaudia*. Our enthusiasm is frittered away with tedious and interminable supernaturalism. The strength of the Hindoo poets lies rather in tenderness and in descriptions of natural scenery. However, a vivid interest appears to be excited now in Indian antiquities, and we have no doubt that these scenes from the *Rāmāyana* will be eagerly read both here and in England, especially as they will be supplemented with an admirable commentary in Mr. Talboys Wheeler's forthcoming volume.

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*The Anglo-Indian Lyre ; or, the Asian Mystery, and other Poems. By William Edwin Cantopher. DeRozario and Co.*

WE have much pleasure in noticing an unpretending little volume of poems put forth by Mr. Cantopher, of the Hooghly College, with the undisguised intention of vindicating his claim to departmental promotion. Mr. Cantopher, by showing that his thoughts and writings are of a superior quality, wishes to gain, in the verdict of public opinion, some equivalent to a university degree, which he considers a *sine quâ non* to the favour of those who dispose of the patronage of Educational appointments in Bengal. While we wish Mr. Cantopher every success, and believe him to be worthy of that which he covets, we cannot help remarking that the Preface, in which he states his views thus bluntly, contains some things which are not in accordance with our ideas of good taste. The author has evidently been in the habit of dwelling alone and apart from common sympathy. He is too anxious to take the public into his confidence, and to draw their attention to his forlorn state, and other matters, which, however interesting in themselves, are more fit for a private audience than to be included in a volume addressed to the public. But notwithstanding these errors of taste, we see much to admire and little to find fault with in this volume, which is certainly worthy, of all it aspires to, a place in the Anglo-Indian Lyre.

The rhyme and rhythm are generally true, although it is Mr. Cantopher's misfortune occasionally to spoil a really fine bit with a bad rhyme, or, to stretch that much abused quality—Poetic License—a little beyond the usually conceded limits. For instance, in the 'Asian Mystery,' fourth stanza, we find a very fine piece :—

He comes, the terror of the Indian plains !  
Through all her hundred bounds, from every side,  
Re-echoes the dread name—The Ghiznevide !  
And Somnaut's spoils attest the Moslem's gains,  
What though he forged not the victor's chains,  
Ceased not with him the flash of scimitar,  
Ceased not the advancing tide of Moslem war.  
Fresh hordes on hordes the crumbling ranks supply,  
Usbeck and Patan for the conquest vie ;  
And Timur's gory path, and Baber's night,  
And Akbar's fortunes in the listed fight,  
*End in Aurungzebe's sceptre bright.*

Here the impression caused by a very fine passage is somewhat marred by the shortcomings of the last line.

At the end of an enthusiastic note on England, we find what we consider the real gem of the volume. Of all the allusions to his domestic misfortunes the prettiest, tenderest, and most allowable :—

Where the shadows lower  
By lone Nechell's green,  
Where the early wild-flower—  
Shakes its head unseen,  
There, round one spot, my heart still lingers,  
Drawn ceaselessly by hidden fingers,  
For there a grass-grown mound  
Lifts up its mouldering head,  
Marking the narrow bound  
Where sleeps the blessed dead.  
Within its sacred precincts lie  
All once was mine by love's most tender tie.

The 'Asian Mystery' had already appeared in the columns of the *Indian Daily News*, and has been noticed by that and other contemporaries. The next piece, the *Voyage of a Cloud*, is fair, but reminds us of a mixture of Wordsworth and Shelley. Several other pieces are well worth reading, and though we find some faults in the volume, it contains enough to show that Mr. Cantopher is fully justified in claiming a place in the first ranks of Anglo-Indian poets.

## THE TAGORE FAMILY.

*A brief account of the Tagore Family. Calcutta, 1868.*

THIS pamphlet has acquired more than the ordinary interest attaching to such publications from the fact of its issue having immediately preceded the death of one of the most respected members of this family, Baboo Prossono Coomar Tagore, C. S. I., a member of the Legislative Council of the Government of India, a gentleman well known for many years both to the European and Native sections of the community, and much respected by both.

The publication, which is one of family rather than of general interest, professes to furnish us with a genealogical history of the *Tagore* (or *Tagore*) family as compiled from records in its possession by the chief family Priests, Ghotuck and Bhat, and verified subsequently by Bungsheedhur Vidyaratna, the oldest and most respected Ghotuck in Bengal. Their authenticity may therefore be considered as incontestable.

It is perhaps pretty generally known that although Brahmins of pure blood and ancient descent, this family has for many generations been placed beyond the pale of caste, from which its members have since been most rigorously excluded. Two accounts are given of this eviction, and we cannot but admit that the punishment appears to us somewhat incommensurate to the offence.

Both date from the time of one Purushottama Vidyagavisa, who is said to have married the daughter of a person blemished in caste. In the first it is alleged that an ameen, named Pir Ali Khan, who had been deputed to hold an investigation in the village of Gurgian in the Jessore District, had an altercation with some of the inhabitants of the village as to whether to smell forbidden food was not an offence tantamount to that of half eating it.

Some time after, he invited several persons to his house, all of whom he made to smell forbidden food. Two of the guests, who were reported to have partaken of the food, were obliged to become Mahomedans, and the remainder of those present were at once outcasted by the Pundits, and named Pirâlis. Purushottama, it is said, was one of the latter.

The other account is as follows. Purushottama, who was a man of superior learning and caste, was travelling through Jessore on his way to bathe in the Ganges, when the Chaudbris of that place, who had lost caste in the above-mentioned way,

forcibly carried him off and married him to one of their daughters. It is said that he thus inherited his father-in-law's expulsion from a caste which his descendants have never since been able to re-enter.

To the work is attached a genealogical table tracing the pedigrees of the principal members of the Tagore family now living, which will be read with interest by those to whom they are known.

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*The Life of Ram Doolal Dey, the Bengallee Millionaire.*

THIS little pamphlet is the reproduction of a lecture delivered at the Hooghly College in March last. The lecturer, Baboo Grish Chunder Ghose, the editor of one of the best native English papers in this part of India, is well known as a speaker for the brilliancy and fertility of his ideas, which he gives utterance to with a fluency which many English speakers might well covet.

The lecture gives us a picture of the domestic life of a rich native gentleman, who, in spite of his business avocations, remained, according to the writer, a Hindoo of Hindoos to the last. The pamphlet has been so fully commented on by the daily press that it does not need any extended notice at our hands.

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*'The Spoilt Child of the Indian Family,'*

IS the title given to a small pamphlet which is a re-print of two articles which appeared in the *Times of India*, in August 1867, with a preface denoting the object of the reproduction. We are ashamed to own ourselves entirely oblivious of the articles in question till they were presented to us in the present pamphlet form, and a careful perusal of them has led us to the conclusion that the writer would have done better in allowing them to sink into obscurity.

All financiers of the present day are aware that the nominal revenue of Bengal cannot be all fairly claimed by that province, and that its boasted surplus of ten millions will not stand analysis; but we never before heard that as long as a tax is equal throughout the whole empire, therefore a province which consumes, and consequently pays, twice as much proportionately as another province, is not to be credited with the increased revenue thus raised,—a proposition which forms the basis of the

calculation made in this pamphlet, which intentionally omits altogether from the account the proceeds of salt, customs, and opium. Nor did we know that "salt and customs' duties are paid by the consumers equally over the country." We admit that we were under the impression that salt made south of the Chilka paid a far less tax than that manufactured north of it, and consequently that the Bengalee consumer of this article paid a far higher duty than the Madrassee.

We are no friends to that splendid blunder, the Permanent Settlement, but we like to see it fairly treated, and the principle adopted by the pamphleteer of lumping the entire expenditure on all parts of the empire into one whole, and assuming that each province ought to contribute its rateable share of the income required to meet this expenditure, proportioned to its population or area, is obviously fallacious. If it is a fact that Bengal requires hardly any army, needs no array of settlement officers, and consumes more than its share of imported and exciseable goods, surely all this must be taken into account in fixing the share of revenue which it ought to raise.

In any case we demur to the assertion that *Bengal* is the spoilt child of the Indian Family. Whatever tax is paid elsewhere is paid here, and is generally more productive here than elsewhere. The deficiency, if such there be, is simply caused by the Supreme Government for the day having deemed fit to make a present of a large portion of the land revenue to the zemindars for the time being, and to their successors. What a selfish and unprofitable use the bulk of them have made of the present, in spite of a few illustrious exceptions, is known to all. But the rest of the people of Bengal, the agricultural, the mercantile, the trading, the official communities, have rather suffered than gained by this measure. How then can Bengal's position be said to be 'favored?' It seems to us that it has been rather sinned against than sinning.

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*A Positivist* has sent us his *Reply to an article on Positivism in the 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1866.* Though somewhat late in the field, the pamphlet shews that it is written by one who is perfectly familiar with the teaching of his master, and some passages cutting up the rationalistic latitudinarian Theism of the Reviewer indicate pretty clearly that Hector in the armour of Achilles, cannot withstand the attack of a spear from the same armoury.



I. C. Bose and Co., Stanhope Press, are the Positivist printers.

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'RATIONALISM and Faith' is the somewhat ambitious title of a religious pamphlet, published by DeRozario & Co. It consists of a re-print of a series of articles from the *Indo-European Correspondence*, together with a lengthy preface.

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'PRINSEP's Code of Criminal Procedure,' 2nd Edition, will be noticed in our next.

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WE also beg to acknowledge several official reports and papers placed at our disposal by the courtesy of Government.









